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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

GOD FORGIVE US ALL.

A CHRISTMAS PIECE.

At midnight lone and deep—
Broken the bonds of sleep—
I mused on human kind,
Weak, impotent, and blind—
The new wrong still begun—
The duty left undone—
How large the evil part;
The good, how small:
Then cried my conscious heart,
"Forgive us all—
Oh! God! most merciful—forgive us all!"

I probed my throbbing breast
With trembling unrest;
Visions of guilt and shame
From its recesses came,
In phantom-like array,
And dread, despotic sway:
I thought, if all mankind
Such fate befall,
The cry should load the wind,
"Forgive us all—
Forgive a sinner, Heaven! forgive us all!"

And then I seemed to know,
That many here below
Were suffering even more
Sin's poisoned arrows sore
A fearful, mighty host,
And yet not wholly lost!
Oh! for th' archangel's cry,
His trumpet-call,
To thrill them to reply,
"Forgive us all—
Oh! God! long-suffering—forgive us all!"

I saw that even earth's best
Small sanctity possessed;
Who prized their good the most,
Were still the nearest lost;
That *all* had gone astray
From Wisdom's narrow way.
Is there a man, thought I,
Who may not fall?
Who has no need to cry,
"Forgive us all—
Oh! Thou! who seest the *heart*—forgive us *all?*"

Fit seemed this prayer to me;
And heavenly Charity
(Not the proud Pharisee)
Would never think to see
Perdition to man's race
For lack of heavenly grace.
Yet still the murky night
Hung like a pall:
Will God enkindle light?
"Forgive us all—
Voiceless Omnipotence! forgive us all!"

And now, blithe chanticleer
Speaks *morning* to the ear;
The light comes beaming on—
The Day ascends his throne—
The greatest Day of Earth—
That gave her SAVIOUR birth!
O sinful Man! no more
Let doubt enthral!
Repent—nor prayer give o'er—
"*Forgive us all*—
Oh! God! *through* JESUS CHRIST—*forgive us all!*"

I. H. J.

[Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1855, by Elbert Perce, in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.]

FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Omburg," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE.

CHAP. XVII.

Church—An Afternoon Walk.

Friday and Saturday slipped away tolerably quickly; yet Hilda had never so frequently looked at her watch, or so wished that time could have been endowed with wings for her especial henefit. At length it was Sunday morning, and Hilda rose early, in order to enjoy alone those first beautiful hours; for it was a glorious, calm, bright Sunday morning, such as even angels might have delighted in. On Hilda's return from her walk, she took the coffee to her parents, and then went to her toilette, about which she was, to-day, rather more particular than usual.

Papa and Hilda were to walk to church, as one of the horses was lame, and they could not use the coach, and mamma was to go in the old single-seated chaise, which belonged to the place.

As the Lieutenant and Hilda could not keep pace with the chaise, they walked along the grass border of a ditch, to avoid the dust of the high road.

"I am curious, my child," said papa, "to know whether we shall hear Mr. Wallinder preach at our church, to-day, or old Stenberg."

"Old Stenberg!" exclaimed Hilda, in astonishment.

"Doos not the master preach every Sunday, then?"

"Not a bit of it, my dear; only every third. There are three churches here, and three pastors, and they change every Suuday."

"Well, then, papa ought of course to know who is to preach at B—— this morning."

"Why, my dear child, I have not beeu at church for a couple of Sundays, and have forgotten the order."

Hilda was eilent, hut thought to herself, "It would be too vexatious, if I had just come a whole quarter of a mile in the dust and heat, to have tho pleasure of yawning myself to death over a long, tiresome sermon from old Stenberg—it would be too tiresome."

A peasant now trotted past them.

"Good day, father Olla, of Kingstadt," said the Lieutenant. "Do you know, father Olla, which of the clergymen preaches to-day at B——; and how is it with your health, man?"

"Thanks for the asking, Mr. 'Spector," replied he, "only so-so; as far as I know, we shall hear Vicar Dahlstedt to-day."

"Did you hear, Hilda, my dear? We are not to hear our polite master, but Dahlstedt, who is, if possible, still more lengthy and tedious than Stenberg himself. I fear we shall hardly get home to dinner before evening, and that would be vexatious. What do you say, Hilda?"

"I am quite of your opinion, papa; and so weary, too, I believe I will turn back again."

"Aye, that is not such a stupid notiou, my love, and I've half a mind to do the same; but what would hecome of mamma then? She would be in a terrible way, if we should not come."

"Well, then, let us go on," said Hilda, in a tone of resignation.

The church, which was npon a prominent point of the mouutain, soon lay smiling in the morning brightness before their eyes. The sight of the temple, the graves decked with fresh flowers, and the solemn clang of the bells, had a kindly influence upon their souls.

The chimes now rang, and they entered the church; the seat appropriated to Lindfors was in the chancel. The ladies had seated themselves, the first psalm was sung, and the door of the sacristy was opened. Hilda did not look up; but as the first tone of the clergyman's voice fell deep and melodious upon her ear, she started, and raised her eyes, and behold! before the altar, in his priestly vestments, stood Wallinder's tall aud imposing figure, calm and mild, but full of earnestness. His eye fell upon Hilda, and in that glance lay so much of hope, of peace, and of a blessedness which had nothing in it akin to earth, that the maiden felt her entire being pervaded with it at once, and her heart swelled with sensations so sweet, and yet so rare—so intangible, and yet so holy—she could not tear her looks from Wallinder.

Whilst tho second psalm was sung, Hilda's eyes were almost continually directed upon him; but, as the organ died away, and Wallinder turned toward the congregation, and his deep full voices filled the church with its rich and harmonious tones, Hilda thought her bosom could have hardly contained her overflowing sensations. She lowered her head, and sweet and hlissful tears trickled silently down her cheeks. Never yet had she attended a sacred service of God, which had made such a profound impression upon her as this.

From the pulpit, Wallinder addressed them with the same dignity and self-possession, common to many beside himself. He never degenerated into commonplace, every-day language, yet never made a parade of his rhetorical powers; his words found a fresh garland of faith, hope, and peace. Wheu the service was concluded, and the congregation had come out into the church-yard, Hilda walked silently at her mother's side. Mrs. Borgenskold wiped away the traces of some tears, as she leant lightly on Hilda's arm, and asked—

"My child, can you call to mind ever haviug heard so beautiful a sermon at H——?"

Hilda replied with but one word, "never," and continued her path in silence, until she heard her father's voice, as he came gasping after them—

"Elizabeth, my old lady, will you not ask the Master how he does? I have him with me here."

The ladies turned and perceived papa and Mr. Wallinder approaching arm in arm. A holy and tranquil seriousness still rested upon the young preacher's manly features. Mrs. Borgenskold welcomed him cordially, and simply and sincerely thanked him for his edifying discourse. He bowed in silence; but as he turned immediately to Hilda, who had said nothing, and iuquired how she had heen since the last agreeable evening which he had spent in their company at Lindfors, the good Lieutenant seized the opportunity, and asked his wife, in a whisper, whether it would be fitting to invite the Master to dinner. She gave an approving nod, and then addressed Wallinder with the invitation to accompany them to Lindfors, to dine, and spend the remainder of the day.

Wallinder made a few complimentary excuses, hut the affair was soon settled; the old one-seated chaise drew np, and Wallinder, seeing that there was room but for one, asked Hilda how she was going.

"I walk with papa."

"Then perhaps you would let me drive you over. It is really a long walk to chnrch, without having to walk hack again; and I trust you will not deny my request."

"But," objected Hilda, "it would be too tiresome for papa to have to walk back aloue. No, I cannot allow that."

"Well, then, lct us settle it another way; Lieutenant Borgenskold shall drive my droschky, and, as we all three cannot go in it, I will accompany Miss Hilda on foot. Won't that do, Lieutenant?"

"Oh, dear, no! there is no need of that; Hilda can go in the droschky, as I can get a seat with Farmer Bro, whose road passes Lindfors, and so you need have no care for me."

"Well, then, that makes us all right," smiled Hilda, as Wallinder helped her into his pretty carriage, and letting Polly go, they were soou at Lindfors.

The dinner was in readiness for them on their arrival. As they were seating themselves, Borgenskold, beginning to search his unfathomable pockets, said, "I met the post by the way, aud there wero two letters for you, Hilda."

When papa had fished out the bundle of newspapers, together with his spectacles, memorandum book, pocket handkerchief, and laid them all in order upon the table beside him, he at last produced the letters.

"Ah! from Rosa," said Hilda, with a movement of joy, putting hy the first letter. "Then she has kept her word, dear, good Rosa, and sent me a letter to glad my heart immediately after my arrival at my new home. But there is another; from whom can that he?" She glanced at the address, and the hlood rushed to her cheeks—so powerful may he the effect of an affection past and gone. It was in Captain Ferdinand's hand.

"This letter," said she, with tolerable self-possession, "is from my cousin, Captain Ling. He was for some time engaged to my dearest friend, Rosa Widen, but certain unpleasaut family occurences caused the match to be broken off."

Wallinder bowed slightly, as people generally do, when they helieve that a story is told them which is capable of yet another explanation besides that which they receive. The converation at dinner rather flagged; and as soon as they had taken coffee, Hilda, pointing to her letters, said to Walliuder—

"The Master is aware that curiosity is woman's inheritance; therefore, I trust I may be excused, for leaving you to satisfy mine."

When she had withdrawn, and the Lieutenant had slipped off to his room for his usual nap, Mrs. Borgenskold signed to Wallinder to take a seat beside her upon the sofa. Heaven knows what made her think it necessary to anticipate all chance of a misunderstanding. She proceeded to detail to the willing ear of Wallinder the whole affair between Ferdinand and Hilda, from beginning to end, even to the Captain's present efforts to replace himself upon the old footing with Hilda, and her daughter's decided repugnance to anything of the sort.

"Which will always remain the same," said Mrs. Borgenskold, as she concluded her confidential communications, "for Hilda despises him, and will never marry a man who has once showu himself unworthy of her esteem."

"Love, my dear lady, has done greater wonders than that," urged Wallinder—most probably, however, only for the pleasnre of being contradicted.

"Love! aye, that wonld be quite another thing, my dear Master Wallinder; hut I have said already that it is all over with Hilda's love long ago; it is all past and gone."

When, after an hour, Hilda returned, there was a trace of sad and thoughtful melancholy upon her nsually smiling lips. She found her parents and Wallinder engaged in conversation abont the promise of an abundant harvest, and the luxuriant flax crop, which was a cause of infinite rejoicing to mamma.

"Well, Hilda had yon good news?" asked papa, stopping a fresh pipe.

"But so-so," replied Hilda, evasively; "the trouble still continues in the Widen family."

"Oh, yes, there is never auy want of trouble," said papa. "Apropos of trouble; ours of this morning just occurs to me, Hilda; and I must ask Master Wallinder how it was that we chanced to hear him preach this morning at our chapel; they told us, on the way, that Dahlstedt was to preach."

"The fact is, that it really was his turn," replied Wallinder, "but he felt so unwell, that he sent a message to me to preach for him—the church where I should have preached heing very near his house."

"That was a piece of good fortune for us," said Hilda.

"Miss Hilda is too polite; I hardly venture to believe that you really think so."

"Oh, yes, indeed, the Master may take our word for it," assured the Lieutenant; "for, is it not true, Hilda, that you half thought of turning back again, when we learned that Dahlstedt was to preach?"

"No, no, not on that account," said Hilda, hlushing redder than the rose she had placed in her hair. "Does not papa recollect, then, that I complained of weariness; and as I had never heard either Mr. Dahlstedt or Mr. Wallinder, I could naturally be no judge as to which deserved the preference."

"So, so, my child; of course, then, it was weariness which made you so anxious to turn back?" said papa, heartily delighted at haviug, for the first time that he could remember, caught Hilda in a trap. But Wallinder's look had brightened; and as he rose, in order to drop a suhject which must have heen painful to Hilda, said—

"Shall we not take a walk and enjoy the beautiful evening? The country is very charming."

Mrs. Borgenskold excused herself, on the plea of fatigue; and the Lieutenant said he expected the grazier of Bro, with whom he had some business to arrange.

"Would Miss Hilda venture to intrust herself alone to my guardianship?" asked Wallinder, in a toue of pleasautry. "I must meution beforehand, however, that there is a mountain grotto here in the country, which, according to the saying, is haunted by the witches."

"I will venture, uotwithstanding," replied Hilda, gaily; and she sprang away, to fetch her hat, parasol, and gloves.

Wallinder offered her his arm, and she tripped lightly hy his side out of the gate, and down the little avenue. Mamma and papa nodded and smiled to them, until they were hidden by a tnrn in the road.

"He is really a very polite young man, onr Master," said Mrs. Borgenskold. "Do you know if he has passed a pastor's examination yet? for I presume he does not mean to be a curate long."

"As you say, my love, he certainly does not mean to he a curate all his life; and as to the pastor's examination, he passed that last winter, and it is generally believed that he will be called to the living of B——, when the old pastor dies—for Wallinder has not only all the consistory on his side, hut the mass of the parishoners as well."

"Ayo, and no wonder, either," said Mrs. B.; "he has such a taking way with every one, that he must be beloved. But is the Provost so very old and sickly, and blind to boot? He may, perhaps, live many a long year yet."

"That is very possihle, indeed; hut what makes you interest yourself about this matter, Elizabeth?"

"I think it a good plan to make inquiries about one's neighbors. Do you know whether Master Wallinder is hetrothed?—but of course you can't kuow."

"Yes, indeed, my dear old lady, I do know very well that he is not; for Patron S——, of Scallerbo, as the saying is, worked for the bare life to get him for his son-in-law; hut nothing came of it. But there comes my friend from Bro; do you think, my love, that I can settle to let him have the planks for that price, before I get an answer from the Patron. It might not be advisable, perhaps."

"You must nnderstand best about that, my dear Herman; hut if it is the current price, I should think you might take it."

"Yes, I think so too. See there; good evening, farmer. How gets on the seed at Bro? Does it not look heautifully here at Lindfors? Ah, my dear," added he, turning to his wife, "will you get something to eat for our neighbor in my room?"

Mrs. Borgenskold took her bunch of keys and withdrew, with a slight sigh at all the inconveniences which arise in the country; among the worst of which, in her mind, was, that every one that came in had to be fed.

Meanwhile, Hilda and Wallinder strolled arm-in-arm along the heautiful river banks. A little further down, lay a small boat; when they reached it, Wallinder eaid—

"Do you see that little islet there, in the middle of the clear, blue mirror? Is it not quite inviting? Will Miss Hilda permit me to row her over there?"

"Is that where the witches dwell?" asked she, laughing.

"No, but perhaps the Neck lies there; shall we see how it looks in his little domain?"

"Very good," said Hilda, getting into the hoat.

Wallinder grasped the oars, and the little boat glided smoothly out into the mirror-like water.

"Oh, this is very pretty—very lovely," said Hilda, with a thankful glance at her companion.

"How happy it makes me, to think you find it so," replied Wallinder, as, releasing one of his oars for an instant, he lcaned over, and pressed a light kiss on Hilda's hand, which rested on the side of the boat. Slightly embarrassed, she drew it hack, and, without exchanging another word, they reached the Holm. Wallinder sprang out, and made fast the boat, and aided his fair companion to land npon the charming little spot, which appeared quite worthy to be a dwelling for the Neck.

"Who tends this delightful little Holm?" asked Hilda, seatiug herself upon the little bank of fresh, grassy turf. "This seat appears to be quite newly raised, and is not the little plat in front there strewn with flowers?"

"I presume the Neck may have had some inkling of our visit, and has consequently decked out his mansion," replied Walliuder.

"The Neck is a very polite host," said Hilda. "I would he knew how much I thank him for the enjoyment he has prepared for me."

"Oh! say only what is pure, unsullied truth!" urged Wallinder; and there was in his voice a touching tone of pensiveness; "Neck's sharp vision can penetrate Miss Hilda's heart, and plaintive indeed would be the tones in which he would make known his grief, should he discover that her words are those of mere politeness."

"Neck shall have no just cause for such a complaint," she answered, quickly, as she snffered Wallinder to gaze upon her clear, dark eyes. "This day—this whole day, with the exception of the sorrow which I felt at my friend Rosa's letter—has heen one of the most delightful of my life."

"Oh, then I will hope to he able to afford you many more like it," replied he, with enthusiasm; "and as I, yesterday evening, when here, entertained a hope that I might be permitted to conduct you hither, I left that behind which I believed would give pleasure to my proposed companion."

Wallinder then went to a hollow in the trunk of an old tree, and took thence a flute; he then seated himself upon the half-fallen stem, and caused the instrnment to give forth its full, rich tones of melody, which were softly repeated by the distant echo. Hilda was in perfect rapture; never had she passed so delightful an evening, never had such a sense of bliss pervaded her heart.

"Oh! what a pity mamma is not here," she sighed, as Wallinder laid down the flute; "she has missed a great pleasure; however, we mnst hope to repeat it soon."

The sun was already dipping its last golden rays in the hlue, rippling water, as our young and happy couple again approached the shore at Lindfors. Softly glided the boat to the land, and gaily and happily they strolled up the little avenue, and entered the courtyard. Papa was seated in his nook, smoking his pipe, and mamma called out to them from the open window—

"Where, in Heaven's name, have yon heen so long? I was really beginning to be seriously afraid, my dear Hilda, that the witches had taken yon off in good earnest."

"No, this time I was the culprit," said Wallinder, as they both entered the hall. "I alone carried off Miss Borgenskold; we have heen visiting such a lovely little island, down the river yonder. I took her there, that she might enjoy the delightful views which we have around us."

"Well, there is no harm in that," said mamma, with a gracious smile; "and now I suppose yon must be hungry, for it is long past tea-time. You must be hungry, surely, Hilda; I am quite certain of it," continued mamma.

"We dined so late," rejoined Hilda; "however, I dare say, Mr. Wallinder, we can do justice to mamma's preparations."

And offering her hands, she led him to the table, on which the rural meal was spread.

As he took leave, Wallinder said—

"I will come again, soon."

To which all three replied—

"You will he heartily and always welcome."

Full of joyous and happy feelings, Wallinder drove along the beautiful road to the parsonage; and what his thoughts were on the way, one may easily divine, without our finding it necessary to tell him; and so we will look into Hilda's chamber.

She sat there eilently, her hands crossed upon her lap, now sighing, now smiling. We need hardly stop to analyze her feelings; they were probably of mnch the same cast as those of Wallinder, though we would hy no means affirm that Hilda as yet looked very far into the future—no, she only lifted a little corner of the curtain which veiled it—but the little which she thus discovered was quite sufficient to quicken the beatings of her heart. She would dissipate these thoughts, and chase away Wallinder's image, which was throwing Rosa's into shadow; for, after the letter she had received, she wished to think about her alone.

Thus thought Hilda, and, chiding herself for her weakness, she again took up Rosa's letter, and resolved to interest herself with it, and nothing else. Ferdinand's she threw aside. However, we will lay both of the lotters hefors our readers.

For the National Era.

STANZAS.

I spurn the chains that bound me long—
Their links are dim with rust;
I cast them downward to the dust,
And once again am strong.

I live not in the vanished years—
I grasp the glorious Now;
There is no darkness on my brow,
And in my eyes no tears.

My vision shall no more essay
To read the book of fate;
My heart is patient—I will wait,
And, waiting, act to-day.

The tones that charmed me once are still,
And every passing hour
Becomes the vassal of my power,
Obedient to my will.

H. I.

For the National Era.

ONE PULL FOR THE RIGHT—TWO FOR THE LEFT.

BY MRS. BELL SMITH.

A ride upon the rail in a swift train has upon me the effect of wine. As we whirl along, to the quick music of the ringing iron, I feel as if my body was up with my spirits, and we were flying to music. How the landscapes seem waltzing hy—trees and hills, meadows, rivers, sunlight, and shade—caught at by the eye, and gone—gone far back; and one can scarcely realize that they are lying there still, calm and eternal. I feel as if I were leaving all the ills of life hehind—running at the rate of sixty miles an hour from sickness and sorrow—the competition of hard, busy life—the thousand and one petty annoyances which go to make up mountains of trouble. But, alas! these grim phantoms are hard after us—we shake them off for a moment, and run at the rate of sixty miles an hour, but, at the first station house, there they are—our old familiars, ready to greet us—dear friends, well pleased to make us miserable.

Then, sleeping in cars has for me a great charm. I am shaken into repose, and like to feel, as I drop off, that we are making famous time. I dream that I am slnmhering on the genii's charmed carpet, and am being carried with magic swiftness over wide lands, vast countries, and mighty nations sleeping in the moonlight. So we are. When I again awaken, we will have made four or five hundred miles; and what storms we have run throngh, what dark forests we have penetrated, what choice bits of scenery lit by moonlight we have lost, what cows we have killed, what hogs we have sent with sudden sqealls to their final rest, mourned over these last by the dismal wail of the locomotive, that, like a grim monster, lets on that he is sorry for it, but grins and rattles his chains as on he speeds, mindless of other hogs and helpless cows, sleeping as it were in the very arms of death—mindless, alas! of four or five hundred men, women, and children, heing dragged into hidden danger. There is something exciting in this peril. Only think—the crushing of an overstrained wheel, the hreaking of a slender axle-tree, and down what fearful precipices may we be hurled, to awaken, if ever, amid the shrieks of the dying, nnder the wreck of crnshed cars and a scalding locomotive.

My principal amusement, however, consists in a speculative study of the faces about me. It is an odd habit, but one full of amusement of a quiet kind to myself, and therefore to be cherished. I believe with Hazlitt, that we may control to a certain extent our words and acts; hut that all the while the character is being written npon the face, in lines not to he changed or concealed. If these cannot be read, it is the fault of the reader. One could be helped in this, if the faces were framed in by clothing which would indicate the wearer's pursuit. But fashion, and, worse, the pride which apes fashion, have hrought variable things to such an nnhappy sameness, that no assistance is to he had from such a source. I regret this on other acconnts. A dress is hecoming only when it is appropriate. I have seen a French ouvrier look more of the gentleman, with a neat, clean blouse over his manly form, than a Jew peddler in the dress of one.

My pen is rnnning away with my subject—a trick it has, by the hye, and I sometimes helieve that my readers (supposable) will think that I lay down a subject as a hoy does a stick, to see how far he can jump from it. Well, now for a jump hack. We left, Lncy and I, our home in Mill Creek, one sunny morning, for a ride on the rail to Lake Erie. We had business, or imagined we had, and so hnrried old Pete along, whipping him up with fears of being too late for the cars. Trains are so sudden, and clocks so uncertain, that I am always in a "fiz" when starting, and in a "fiz" until fairly seated, with the whistle in my ears. We arrived in time—saw every one looking out, as every one looks ont, at nothing, whenever the train stops. We found seats, and saw, as the locomotive rattled away with ns, old Pete, with the ever-faithful Stacy, erect as a bronze monument, fade in the distance.

I hegan my ordinary examiuation of faces ahont me. It was the usual collection of specimens West, Eastward bound. Merchants, in search of a new stock, made up the majority, while wealthy families, *en route* for fashionable watering places, gave ns the next larger ingredient. We had a sprinking from all other classes—lawyers, doctors, and farmers. At least, such were my conclusions. But my attention was called to a youthful pair, evidently on their bridal tour. There was something very amusing in the wear of the new clothes, and the wear of the new life. How novel and pleasant the first moments, when we are called upon to share each other's hopes and joys! How dear the time when we first share each other's sorrows, and administer mutual consolation. It is, after all, from the last that gennine affection springs. The roots must be watered hy tears, and the limbs rudely shaken by adversity, to make of married love the pure, beautiful bond the heart demands. It is not that we have seen happiness together, but that we have had sorrow in commuuion, that makes us one. The gnarled shrub clings to the rude monntain side, resisting all assaults stoutly, when the affluent plant may be easily plucked from its richer soil. Therefore, I say to all lovers, never mind worldly prosperity; it is for you to struggle and fight, and he often defeated, hut never dismayed, and all the while be huilding up that which is nearer and dearer, and better far than ordinary goods of this world.

Ah, me! well do I appreciate now, what, years agone, I lamented over because I could not nnderstand. Married life is, or should be, a Pilgrim's Progress. Christian grows strong and content only after many trials and tribulations. It is not in the wooing and wedding that one comes to the true state of devoted affection. In Love's witching court, diplomacy has a large role. For, in seeking to please, we very naturally attempt to conceal; and it is only after the knot is tied, that we open our astonished eyes to imperfections, heretofore adroitly hid. And we leave the gay court for the homely roof, where we are welcomed by a matter-of-fact, disagreeable, sensible fellow, quite nnknown about the pleasure-grounds and merry halls of King Love, who calls himself Economy. This fellow, Economy, shakes his ngly head douhtingly over your best furniture—cheap, fine things—and throws out hints about a pine table aud two chairs. He makes you shiver over a homeopathic coal fire iu the dining-room, leaving gentility to freeze in the parlor. With your purse in one hand, he counts your potatoes with the other, and is dubious over an unaccountable increase of pots and pans. He makes yon darn stockings, and repair—shall I say it?—old pantaloons; and you begin to believe that you have made a bad thing of it, and wish you had not——and a few nervous rows help on the misery. The gradual improvement in the way of furnitnre, the little recitals, in the eveuing, of successes duriug the day, do not altogether remove the troubles.

There are two other friends, yet to come, known as Sickness and Sorrow, who will work wonders; and, sooner or later, they are knocking at the door. It is after days of suffering and dreary nights of fear, when you hathe the fevered head and look into the wasted face, and listen to the step of the Doctor as the sweetest music in the world, that comes up the memory of the many patient little kindnesses, the many hard struggles with the world—all for you—and you would give what you once thought so precious, offer up your own existence, to save that one—one never so dear before. And so from the poisoned flower comes the honey—from the dark, heavy soil the delicious fruits—from the murky fogs, the rainbowed clouds. Therefore, I say to all lovers, fear nothing. When Poverty comes in at the door, Love may go up the chimney. Well, let the trifling little rascal go, for he leaves behind a truer friend, when Affection takes his place.

I know that prudent, worldly parents will look upon this as bad advice, encouraging improvident matches; but let them look back through their own lives, before they decide.

I should have continued my dreamings on matrimony to tho end of our jourvey, for it is a favorite subject, but my eye fell upon a little messenger, fresh from heaven, seated not far from us—the loveliest specimen, with that grave, thoughtfnl expression so common in childhood, as if wisdom had come without experience, while innocence yet held its own. The little thing made an exquisite picture. Over her beautifnl head fell a mass of sunny ringlets, bringing it out in artistic relief from the crimson back-ground made hy the lining of the car. One plump, little white hand rested on the arm of the chair, the other lay in her lap, while a foot swung carelessly from the seat—the entire giving an idea of sober indifference, delicious to contemplate. She looked to me as if born at the depot; she was being hurried through existence by express. I longed to lean over and ask confidentially, in a whisper, for news from the spirit land. It was the same little thing that subsequently, on Lake Erie, told me that she was quite tired, "the waves kicked up so."

In contrast to this, my attention was attracted to an old woman, of very stout appointments, and red face, set off by a cap of unlimited frills, a gown bright in colors, and very badly put together, an enormous shawl, all of which she kept in extreme agitation—"for the old lady who had victuals and drink as a principal diet, and yet it was said could never be quiet," was nothing to my new acquaintance. Whenever the care stopped, her voice could be heard, for she never ceased talking, and the burden of her cry was, the "auld man Dennis." I gathered, from her disjointed discourses, that she and her husband, Dennis, had set out together that morning from Cincinnati, for the purpose of reviaiting old Ireland. That Dennis had run back to bid Mrs. O'Donnohue farewell, leaving his larger domesticity in the cars, and that before he could return the train had started. The poor old lady seemed to think it a terrible bnsiness. She might be getting snch a frightful start of Dennis that he would not see her again until they met in County Cork. She had got out at the first station after leaving the city, but the train that followed was an express, and did not stop. She hundled into the next, and found no Dennis. Now, it was a painful question, whether Dennis was yet in Cincinnati, and must be waited for, or had gone on, and must be overtaken. I confess that this would puzzle a clearer head than that of an old Irish lady, late of County Cork. I was a long time getting at this little history, for we had one fact to miles of lamentation; and the afternoon was upon us, when a new event awakened a fresh interest. We had stopped for an instant, to pass a return train, and the cars were being dragged at a reduced pace, as the track was not yet clear ahead, when my attention was called to a little man, ladened with bundles and baskets, who seemed bent on overtaking us. He was an enterprising gentleman, with evident resolution, and got over the ground with more speed than grace, but not much of either. The miseries of one left always afford infinite amusement to the more fortunate passengers; and soon a majority of our company had their heads out, mocking, by encouragement, the unhappy man. We were in the last car, and had a fair view of the contest. The locomotive continned at just the speed to delude the little old gentleman.

"Hurry np, there!" cried one, imitating the Conductor.

"All aboard!" shouted another.

"Two to one on old Bundles," said a youth, taking out his note-book, as if to enter a bet.

At the moment, a wild scream—a howl, indeed—startled us all. We tnrned, to see the Irish lady tossing up her arms, and struggling for an utterance. At last, out it came.

"It's Dennis—me ould man. Stop the railroad, stop the railroad."

No one paid the slightest attention to this reasonable request. Indeed, Dennis, although he persevered manfully, was losing ground. The track being clear, the cars began rattling off at a speed which would have soon left Dennis in the dim distance—a thing of memory only—but the old lady, crying aloud, "Stop the cars; won't any of yees help a poor woman?" was responded to by the wag who had offered to bet on Dennis. Pointing to the cord along the roof of the car, he said—

"Omnibus arrangements, Madam—one pull for the right, two for the left; that's your dodge; now be lively."

The old lady hardly heard the termination of the sentence. She threw her entire weight upon the cord. Immediately the Engineer signalled down the breaks; the assistants sprang to the platform, and in less time than it takes me to write it, the train was checked up. The Conductor jumped wildly from the cars, and ran towards the locomotive, at the same time that the Engineer leaped from the tender, and started back. They met, shouting, "What's the matter?" As neither could answer, the Conductor ran through the cars, demanding in each the cause of this stopping. The old lady soon gave him to understand, hy pointing to her husband, who, seeing the cars stop, was all this time redouhling his efforts. The Conductor was furious. He first thought of puttiug out the old woman, hut, on second thought, signalled the Engineer to go on, and left the car. He evidently thought this the more aggravating course. The train again started, just as Dennis bid fair to get on board. It slowly got under way, but the strength of the little old man was giving out before this nnnatural effort.

A locomotive, we are assured, can run at the rate of a mile a minute. So could "Eclipse," and so did "Boston;" but the locomotive has the advantage of being ahle to continue at that speed an indefinite time. I believe no one has made an estimate of the rate at which a little old Irishman can get over the ground.

I should not here have made these sage reflections, but that the young gentleman who had made the het seemed very sanguine, and, being evidently a sporting character, his opinion was entitled to consideration. He encouraged Dennis to further exertion, and asserted, loudly and gravely, that if the old man would only continue long enough, he would certainly overtake the cars. Inspired by the cries, Dennis made a desperate effort, and seized hold of the car. A dozen hands lifted him from the gronnd. On the cars sped, and there hung Dennis, for a new difficulty appeared. He could not, with his hnndles, be pulled in. There he stuck; to let go was death, and yet to hold on mnch longer quite impossible. At this jnncture, our young sportsman coolly took out his knife, and saying, "Shouldn't carry weight in such a race, old covey; don't treat your backers right," cut the strap which held the larger article. The bnndle tumbled upon the track, Dennis tumbled into the car, and, amid shouts of applause and roars of laughter, fell breathless into the arms of his lately-bereaved hetter half.

As we rolled on, I saw the bnndle lying on the track, and thought of the next train, which would be arrested for the purpose of looking into the strange obstacle.

Correspondence of the Era.

ATTACKS ON KNOW NOTHINGS.

WHITEFORD, LUCAS CO., OHIO, *December* 20, 1855.

The cause to which your paper is devoted meets with a general response in this place, except the ungenerous attack sometimes made upon the Know Nothings. So far as I have been able to learn the feelings of members of that Order, the question of Freedom is the first question, and then other things, which threaten the perpetuity and best interest of our Union. But those of us who are best acquainted with your paper are attached to it, and cannot well dispense with it, though sometimes tired aud almost vexed, when you turn aside from *the great question* of the day, to a quixotic enterprise, fighting the Know Nothings.

From this place, where we have never had a club before, our friend sends us a club of thirteen subscribers. We have made no ungenerous attack on the Know Nothings—we have argued against their doctrines and policy, and now we earnestly appeal to all of them, who consider the Slavery Question paramount, how can we carry the masses of the People of the free States on this question, hy two organizations, aiming at differeut objects? How can we unite them against the Slave Power, except on one issue, in one organization? Will they consider.—*Ed. Era.*

FROM NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *Dec.* 22, 1855.

The adhesive qualities of the one hundred and five members of Congress, who steadily vote for Mr. Banks for Speaker, commands the enthusiastic encomiums of true men everywhere. The consolidation of the Republican party is the one thing needful now. Its position is one that must receive the respect of the mass of good men. Give us organization, fidelity, and hope, and our success will be certain, if not speedy.

Our Legislature meets on the first day of January. In the Senate, the Republicans have the majority. In the House, the three parties will be so nearly equally divided, as to render the election of a Speaker as difficult, perhaps, as it has been at Washington. There is a good deal of coqueting between the Hards and the Know Nothings, who together can choose a Speaker. Persuasions, also, have been held out to the Republicans to vote for a Soft. But unless he will place himself squarely on the Republican platform, it will be better for the Republicans to avoid any such alliance.

There hegins to be some talk about a Republican Convention of all the States, to nominate a President. Some inclino to a delegate Convention, but more to a mass meetlng, at some convenient point. On the other hand, there are many very sagacious persons who think that no Convention is advisable. Their plan is, to allow each State to run the man most likely to command a majority of the votes in the State. If a sufficient number of Electors should thus he chosen, it is agreed, there will be no great difficulty of oombining them all upon one man. If there is not a sufficient numher elected, then no harm to anybody will have heen done.

But this is a matter of hut little immediate importance. What is wanted now is, something to turn the attention of the people to the one great issue. From Washington, should be sent ont orators, speeches, newspapers, and letters, to every part of the Uniou, in furtherance of this one great object. The people are waiting.

B.

FROM MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, *Dec.* 18, 1855.

I commend the course of the *Era* during the past year. Your manful and well-sustained fight against the proscriptive dogmas of Know Nothingism, I have sympathised with and admired; and I can share with you the warm satisfaction you must feel at seeing your unheeded predictions of warning fulfilled so completely by the events of the autumn elections.

In our State, Know Nothingism has lost its vitality, or mostly so. In the southern tier of connties, it still has the sympathy of a number of Anti-Slavery men. Politicians are afraid of it. Its operation is too irregular to stake hopes of office or success upon. The successes of the Know Nothings in New York and Massachusetts, so far as I can learn, have only stimulated the *National* Know Nothings among ns to a spasmodic aotion. But one man of any prominence as an Anti-Nebraska man, in this State, was a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention, and he refused to vote for the majority platform, and I think will soon come to see that the only present hope of Freedom rests in the Republican movement.

But notwithstanding the above, I do not think there will he any open, avowed opposition to Know Nothingism hy the Republican press of this State. Last year, the Republican party could not have succeeded, it is generally thought, without Know Nothing aid, and the same is feared of the coming year. Know Nothingism will undoubtedly be subordinated to the Anti-Nebraska sentiment; hut then I fear it will hold a balance of power, which will render it daugerous. I know that the cry of "down with the Pope" is of considerable power in Michigan, hut I nevertheless helieve that thsre is in the hearts of the people that detestation of slave-extension, and the growing insolence of the slave power, that would command success for the Repuhlican party, without any assistance whatever.

Moreover, it is hest to do right. If Freedom or Slavery is the issue, let ns maintain it singly and alone. We can concentrate more force on *a single point.* Why dissipate our strength on *several points,* when the demand is pressing that it shonld be concentrated on one? No one pretends that we stand in immediate danger of the Pope or the foreigner, but every one must see, that if Freedom is not now triumphant, she must be prostrated for years, long years, we fear, to come. With what consistency ean we plead the enfranchisement of the slave, while we would proscribe for birth and creed tho foreigner and Catholic?

I know many true and prominent Anti-Slavery men in this State, who fully sympathize with the course you have pursued, and I helieve that what you may have lost in defonding the right will be more than made up to yon.

MISSOURIANS GOING BACK—A GOOD STORY.

SHAWNEE RESERVE, KANSAS TER., *December* 10, 1855.

The war excitement is dying away. A numher of onr Missouri neighhors returned yesterday; the rest, it is reported, will he along to-morrow. They have fired several cannon off to-day. Shame on all such doings! Yon perhaps have, or will, hefore you receive this, hear all the particulars. The Missourians say—

"D—n the Yankees! They are more stubhorn than we anticipated. We expected, after marching up there, and firing our cannons and guns in their hearing, they would suhmit. But instead of that, they are ready and willing to fight."

One thiug is certain—the Missourians were wrongly informed. If they had had a true statement of the facts, hefore they left home, they would have stayed there.

P. S. However, there is one joke, which I must tell. After the men had been gathering several days, a couple of young Yankees concluded that they could go to Kansas city, in Missouri, after a howitzer, which was there for them, notwithstanding the road was blocked by guards. They went and got their cannon, and started for Kausas Territory. Somo of the Missouri boys thought they must see what the "d——d Yankees" had, and stopped them. "O, yes," said one of the Yankee boys, "you may see what's here, if you wish." So the tops of boxes hegan to fly off, until all were open but two. "Well," says the Yankee, "do you want to know what's in this?" "Yes." "Well, it's the fore-wheels of Hutchison's wagon." They tore off the top, and there were the wheels, sure enougb. Yankee: "Do you want to know what's in the other box?" Missourians: "No; we are satisfied." So, the Yankee boys passed on with their load, without further molestation. *The other box was the one which had the cannon in it!*

THE ERA IN WISCONSIN.

BEAVER DAM, WIS., *Dec.* 19, 1855.

Will it do any good to know that the course of the *Era* is approved, and its power appreciated, in this distant country? Such *is* the case, not only by your subscribers, but by hundreds who feel unable to subscribe. We are aware that you must have a hard task, with the weekly *Era* alone, to counteract the mischievous influence of some half-dozen Pro-Slavery presses at the capital, fed to the full with Government patronage, to give them power to browbeat, overawe, ridicule, defame, wheedle, flatter, or bribe, every new or weakly Northern member of Congress who can by possibility be reached by such appliances, and make them falter in the cause of Freedom, and pander to the insatiable power of Slavery.

HOW TO MAKE VOTES.

LEONI, MICHIGAN, *Dec.* 11, 1855.

Below you will see moro names for the *Era.* I intend to go to every house in this township, for the *Era,* and take with me good documents, and leave them at every house. I think that if every man who acts as agent for the *Era* would do this, we could elect a President in 1856.

REMEDY FOR WEAK CONSTITUTIONS.

CAMBRIDGE, OHIO, *Dec.* 18, 1855.

Mr. T. was intending to try to live without renewing, but found his constitution would fail, if he persisted; therefore, as a matter of self-preservation, he renews. I think the same remedy might prove beneficial to many others, and I hope they will try it.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO KANSAS.

FRANKLIN, MASS., *Dec.* 21, 1855.

Why should not our friends in Kansas be encouraged? Not only do pledges of "life, fortune, and sacred honor," come from their former homes, in notes of deep-toned base, but there are

Soft voices afloat on the air—
'Tis matron and maiden fair,
At matin and midnight prayer;
And we know for them they pray—
Distant father, friend, and brother,
Tender husband, constant lover,
Choice of some kind heart or other,
Angels strengthen every day.

SOUTH ATTLEBORO, MASS., *December* 17, 1855.

The cause in which you are engaged has my heart, my open mouth, and my prayers; and, although I take several religious papers and journals of decided Anti-Slavery character, yet the *Era,* coming as it does from the capital of the nation, where it has its eyes on all the movements of the subtle and heartless monster of Slavery, at the White House, at the Capitol, in the Cabinet, and in the newspaper organs of a corrupt and Heaven-defying Administration, has become a necessity and a most welcome messenger in my family.

A recent pilgrimage to tho South has opened my eyes in regard to the pecnliar institution, as they never were opened before, though I have twenty-five years been an uncompromising foe to Slavery. I saw not as Dr. Adams, that because the slaves could *laugh* and *whistle,* that *therefore* all was *well;* but I saw in their erect manhood, in their (in mnltitudes of cases) Europesn outline,(?) and in their intelligent faces, notwithstanding that crushing despotism which denies them the word of God, and even the elements of education, proofs of immeasurable *wrong.* Those slaves have the same inalienable rights to the marriage relation, to education, to the acquisition of property, to freedom of locomotion, and to the protection of Government in all these, as their so-called masters. What have they done to forfeit these rights?

A great question, next in importance to personal salvation, is before the nation. It stands out in hold outline. Not a shadow rests on it. It is, whether Freedom or Slavery ehall be the future poliey of the National Government. It appeals to every one who is acoustomed to bow at the throne of grace in prayer, and to every one intrusted with the elective franchise. Will the friends of Freedom rise in their conscious streagth, and tear from the impudent front of Slavery its *already assumed* NATIONAL BADGE, and send it back disgraced to State protection and caresses, or, like a crawling reptile, lick the dust from the sole of insolent and heartless despotism? This is the question.

May God stand by the friends of Freedom at the Capitol, and may they be strong in their own conscious iutegrity, in the righteousness of the eause, and in God's strength, vouchsafed in answer to the prayers of a people outraged and humbled by the apostacy and wickedness of their rulers! Wishing you the utmost success, truly yours,

S. B. MORLEY.

SEVEN MILE, OHIO, *Dec.* 15, 1855.

The standard of Freedom is raised here, and we intend to keep it up, and raise it still higher, if possible; and we think the best help we can get to accomplish onr ends, is your paper. No man that reads, thinks, and studies, can help to appreciate its intrinsic value, and in no other paper are the subjects so matured as those taken up and discussed in the *Era.*

THE ORDER DOING THE WORK OF SLAVERY.

The Wisconsin *Free Democrat,* haviug copied a large portion of our article entitled, "Survey of the Field," &c., comments as follows:

"We submit that this is a candid view of the whole suhject. We believe that the Order is now doing the work of Slavery far more effectually, in the free States, than if it oponly joined the Pro-Slavery and sham Domocracy; for, in that case, no one would he deluded by it, and the Anti-Slavery members of the order would desert instantly, hy thousands. We call the attention of the members of the Order in the State, to two facts. The *American,* the organ of the party in this State, has declared its detormination to support the National Know Nothing party and its Presidential nominee, and has said that George Law, as thoroughly Pro-Slavery a Hunker as the North ever produced, is the most probable candidate of the party for the Presidency.

"It has also declared, and repeated the declaration, that the Know Nothing National party, in the adoption of its Philadelphia, Pro-Slavery, Kansas-Nebraska, and Fugitive Slave Act Platform, stands as fairly and squarely on the Slavery question as any *National* party *can*—thus admitting that the Know Nothing party, *as a National party,* is obliged to adopt the same Platform on the Slavery question, and sanotion all the Pro-Slavery deeds and outrages, which this sham Democracy have done, under the lead of Pierce, Douglas, Atchison, and Stringfellow. This, hy the *American's* own showing, and by the irrefragable testimony of history, is the position of the National Know Nothing party. How many are there in the Order, to-day, who, if we had predicted, two years ago, that they would now be members of a party occupying such a position on the Slavery question, would have exclaimed, with astonishment, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this grest thing?' And how many men now quiet their consciences, for the support of the Order, ss Naaman did, while bowing to straugo gods, by saying, 'the Lord pardou thy servant in this thing'—of supporting a Pro-Slavery party."

A GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE CONTEST IN KANSAS.

Ono of the actors in the lato contest in Kansas sends us a straightforward, graphic account of what transpired; but, as we have already given the particulars as received from other sources, we must content ourselves with submitting so much of our friend's letter as will serve to show tho spirit which animated the Free State Party. He is one of the old Liberty guard. Names, in most cases, we omit, for obvious reasons.

The peculiar interest of the narrative depends upon the fact that it is not prepared by a newspaper correspondent, but by a plain, unambitious actor in the events. The postscript from the wife, surrounded by perils, expecting the storming of the town every hour, shows that, in Kansas, the spirit of the Revolution yet lives.

Having gone to Hickory Point, with a few other citizens of Lawrence, to investigate the facts of the murder of Dow, our friend says:

After the meeting adjourned, a person attempted to hurn the house of Coleman, which was opposed; the fire was put out, and a vote taken, which passed unanimously, against burning it. The people then quietly dispersed. I returned to Wakarusa with a friend, having loaned my pony to Mr. ———, at Blanton, a paper town containing one house, on the south bank of Wakarusa, half way from Hickory Point to Lawrence. We learned that a party of fifteen well-armed horsemen had just passed toward Hickory Point. Believing mischief afloat, we retired to ths house of ——— for consultation. It was soon agreed that horsemen must be sent on their trail, and the neighbors alarmed. Messrs. ———, ———, ———, ———, and myself, were present. About this time, Mr. ——— rode up, and said that Sheriff Jones, with fifteen armed men, had gone to Hickory Point, to arrest Mr. Branson on a peace warrant, sworn out by Buckley, one of the murderers. We were also informed that Coleman had given himself up. We saw at once through the whole plot. Coleman was to have a sham trial, and be *acquitted.*

To do this, it was necessary to destroy Branson, as he was the principal witness against him. Hence, the warrant and contemplated arrest. ——— was sent for *fresh, fast,* and *strong* horses, and to send a man down Wakarusa for help. ——— was sent up Wakarusa, to alarm the settlers. I enjoyed an ague chill until ——— returned with two good horses, which, well armed, wo mounted, and galloped to Hickory Point, ———, ———, and ———, proceeding on foot to a house near the same place, which had been designated as a place of general rendezvous. Arriving at Branson's, we found that they had arrested the old man, and left, as they said, for Lawrence, for trial. We were chagrined and mortified, as we had hoped, if we could not get there in time to warn the old man of his danger, we might at least he there at the time of the arrest.

It was now near ten o'clock at night; the moon was high, and shining brightly, making it easy to see objects at a great distance on the prairie. As we knew they had not taken the road we went, we took another, but soon, by inquiring and examining for hoof-marks, satisfied ourselves that no horsemen had passed. We then galloped over the prairie in different directions, inquiring and examining the roads, but could get no information of the party.

It was then agreed that we should separate. We did so, ——— returning by the place where our friends were to meet—I going further around, seeking information, and alarming our friends, and hurrying to ———, in time to stop a party of ten who had collected, and were about leaving for our place of rendezvous. ——— soon after arrived. Feeling much discouraged, as the Jones party had apparently eluded us, we called a consultation, and were about sending messengers to Franklin, their headquarters, four miles distant, to try to learn something of them, when one of our men rushed in, exclaiming, "*Horsemen are coming, and almost here.*" The road running close to the houee on the west side, and the door on the east, they attempted to run past, but we rushed out in the opposite direction, and into the road ahead of them. They halted within two rods of us. A moment of silence ensued, when one of their party asked, "What's up?" ——— asked, "Is Branson there?" Branson replied, "Yes, I am here, a *prisoner.*" ——— said, "Come over here." One of their party said, "If you move, we will shoot you." One of onr men said, "*Shoot, and be d——d.*" Said ———, "A shot on your part is your death signal—*shoot,* and not a *man* of you *will leave alive.*" Branson said to ns, "I will do just as you say." We all said, "Como here." Guns wero presented and cocked on both sides. Branson left their ranks, rode to ns, and dismounted, turued the mule loose, and was invited into the house to *warm.* Jones then announced himself "Sheriff of Douglas county," said he had "a warrant, issued by H. H. Cameron, Esq., of Lawrence," ordering him to arrest Branson, and he "*must do it.*" We told him we had no sheriffs, counties, or squires, in Kansas; but if he must arrest Branson, "*just to go at it.*" He informed us that he was "no coward." We told him we charged him with no such thing, but thought the fact that he took fifteen armed men to arrest one old man at midnight, when in bed, not only indicated that he *was no coward, but a very brave man!* He then threatened us with United States troops, said he would call upon the Governor, and have ten thousand here in two days. We replied, that we cared nothing for his troops; and as for the Governor, we wished ho *would* do *something,* so that we might know that we had a Governor. He then whined and coaxed, but all to no purpose. He finally remounted his horse, and, at the head of his party, bid us good night, and left us completely triumphant—and a triumph it was. Jones had boasted, time after time, of his ahility to enforce these laws; had said that with twenty men he could enforce them anywhere; that he "could whip any twenty Free State men himself." Pro-Slavery men here chimed the same thing. Free State men said but little, hut quietly awaited the crisis. That *crisis came.* Jones, Postmaster of Wesport, Missouri, and Sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, with a warrant issued hy H. H. Cameron, one of the most infamous wretches in Kansas, and the only man in Lawrence degraded enough to take the office of Justice of the Peace under the mob Legislature, with his allies, fifteen strong, arrest an old man in the night, in bed, and before travelling six miles, a party of equal number, half of whom are unarmed, place themselves in the road. The prisoner leaves his captors, joins his friends, and not the bursting of a single cap announces the event!

Our party soon increased to twenty-five; ——— turned drummer—I had the honor of being elected Captain, ——— Lieutenant, and to the tune of "The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six," we marched to Lawrence, five miles distant, waked up a few of the citizens, and agreed upon a meeting at eight o'clock; and, as it was now morning, we separated for breakfast. At eight o'clock, Union Hall was crowded. The greatest excitement prevailed, on the recitation of the above facts. The action of the rescuers was fully endorsed, and preparations made to defend the town and people. This was Tuesday. Wednesday, but little was heard from our enemies. Jones was seen passing through town, and three or four other suspicious characters hanging around. Thursday, Jones and three others were in town all day—spent much of

their time in walking over it, apparently taking a general view of matters. We learned, however, that Jones, on Monday, had left Coleman, the murderer, tending grocery at Lecompton, whilst the proprietor went to help arrest Branson. The same night, he was again at Franklin, armed with two revolvers and a shot-gun. (Branson, when arrested, had his pockets examined, to see if he had even a pocket-knife.) Thursday night we received information that the Governor had confessed that he had no *authority* to call out troops. This we thought we knew before, but it was also reported that the Governor had gone personally into Missouri, and urged the people to come to Kansas and help enforce the laws. Seven hundred were said to be in Franklin. Spies were sent down to reconnoitre. The seven hundred dwindled down to twenty-five. A party had, however, camped on Wakarusa, and indications appeared to warrant preparations for defence of our town that night. Of course, sentinels were on duty. An attack was also threatened upon certain persons in Wakarusa; and sixty men assembled there, determined to give the scoundrels a grand reception.

In obedience to the wishes of those having the defence in charge, those engaged in the rescue have all left town. Being one them, I left town late Thursday night, and stayed at a friend's house, within hearing of guns, if an attack was commenced, as we have no disposition to shirk any responsibility, and only left because our friends thought they might thereby be better enabled to throw the enemy in the wrong.

Friday, with a friend, one of the rescuers, I took a stroll over to Wakarusa, about five miles. We then followed up Washington creek a couple of miles. Changing our course, we ascended a high mound, known as "Merril's Mound." It is a point of high prairie. South, the prairie seems to be on a level with the mound. North, is the Wakarusa valley. We sat down to rest upon a pile of stones at the northern part of the mound. Stretched out before us, lay one of the handsomest countries that my eyes ever rested upon—a prospect grand and beautiful. Without changing position, I counted 150 houses, (Lawrence and Franklin were neither in view.) Over the country in view of our position, many houses were hid by rises in the prairie and by the Wakarusa timber; not less than 200 houses were within range, indicating a population of not less than 1,000 persons. Besides, Lawrence and Franklin, with their 1,500 inhabitants, were within seven miles; and of these, nearly all are united. All, excepting perhaps twenty voters, have sworn defiance to the cursed laws; and yet a resident Postmaster of Missouri, aided by a corrupt Administration, is seeking to enforce them. Oh! "*Squatter Sovereignty*," "*Squatter Sovereignty*," thou sovereign balm, that was to heal all our difficulties, and "extend the area of Freedom." This Squatter Sovereignty, as the frogs said of the boys' stones, "It may be fun for you, but it is death to us."

We shall return almost to Lawrence this evening, as reports now reach us that the pro-slavery men are rallying at Lecompton as well as at Franklin, and the few pro-slavery men in Lawrence are moving their families to the country. An attack may be made to-night, (Dec. 1st.)

No attack last night. I suppose we shall live one day more. Missourians are still rallying at Lecompton and Franklin.

A messenger just informed me that a spy last night ascertained that the attack is to be made to-night. Cannon are to be placed on Capitol Hill, and Branson and the rescuers demanded. If they are not given up, the town is to be demolished. What is to be the result, God only knows. If they will only get their writs from one of the Territorial Judges, and have them served by the Marshal or his deputy, they would probably have no trouble in finding the parties and arresting us, as no resistance would be made. But if their object be, as it apparently is, to mob, burn, and sack, they must take the consequences. Guerrilla parties will be formed, who will not only pay them back in their own coin, but put all western Missouri in a blaze.

P. S. Please excuse mistakes, as I write in the greatest haste, and amid the greatest anxiety.

Here follows a note from his wife, whose spirit reminds one of '76:

December 2d, midnight.—My husband sent me the above manuscript yesterday. Since then, he and the rest of his party have had to flee. True and tried friends have advised it, and insisted upon it for the safety of the place; and they are gone—*where*, I dare not write. A friend wrote it on a slip of paper, and handed it to me to-night. As soon as I read it, I committed it to the flames. To-morrow we expect hundreds of Missouri demons upon us, to demand them, and to mob and destroy. If they cannot get their men from Leavenworth, they say that troops are coming to storm the town. Every hour brings some new report. This will start Tuesday morning, and will be carried by a friend to Michigan, and mailed there. I will write you again before he leaves, if I live. We may die; but if we do, we die as *free men and women*.

Tuesday morning, Dec. 4.—All alive and safe yet. Reports are, that the enemy are becoming frightened, and backing out. Another report is that their numbers are increasing. Our people are *prepared*. Four hundred men from different parts of the Territory are in town, and will stay till all danger is past. The most charming sign of the times is the harmony prevailing in the ranks of Free State men. It needed but a word to make them drop all business, seize their rifles, and come to the defence. They are here from Ottawa, Bloomington, Topeka, and Wakarusa. Our people will act upon the *defensive* only; but one of the Captains told me yesterday that he had hard work to prevent his men from going down to Franklin to fight them there. Our guards were fired upon Saturday night, but escaped injury—we think it was only done to cause them to fire upon the enemy, and thus furnish a pretext for *them* to commence the attack. The fire was not returned.

Yours, &c.,

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN KANSAS.

We publish below a portion of the correspondence of the New York *Times*, containing the latest intelligence from the Territory of Kansas. The compact which Governor Shannon has made with the people of Lawrence has not yet been made public, but these letters give the material points of the document. Both the camps at Waukarusa and Franklin have been broken up, and the Missourians have returned to their homes with bitterness in their hearts against Governor Shannon. The Free State Volunteers of Lawrence have also been disbanded, with an understanding that they will be paid for their services during the time they were on military duty in defence of their city against an armed mob. Thus the matter rests now.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.,)
Sunday, December 9, 1855.

You will rejoice with me to know that the negotiations with Governor Shannon have proved successful, so far as to satisfy him that we have committed no wrong; and he has ordered all the invading force to disband, and they are doing so. He spent about five hours in private council with Gen. Robinson and Col. Lane yesterday, during which time a written settlement was prepared and signed by the parties; and at the close of the interview, Governor Shannon made us a very satisfactory extempore speech, on leaving the hotel.

By that settlement, we have made no concession, have violated none of our cherished regard of individual honor, have alienated none of our former professions, nor yielded up one principle we hold sacred as defenders of inherited rights. We have said we had no compromises to make, for we had done nothing to injure them, and knew not what they accused us of doing. Putting *our position*, just as we have always stood, upon paper, and signing it, is no concession on our part, but rather a written proof of our innocence.

The document refers firstly to the rescue of Branson, near Hickory Point, and says it was made without our knowledge or consent, and that we will not resist any legal process issued to arrest the rescuers. It further states that we will at all times aid the Governor, when called upon, in the execution of any legal criminal process against any of our citizens. He agrees, that if any are arrested in this vicinity while a foreign force is in this Territory, they shall be tried in this town before a District Judge of the United States Court, and admitted to bail. He further agrees, that all arrested by the Sheriff without legal process shall be set at liberty, and that he will use his influence to aid us in obtaining remuneration for all depredations by the Sheriff's posse in Kansas Territory.

Nothing is to be construed as expressing any opinion as to the validity of the laws of the Territorial Legislature. The citizens of Kansas Territory have always endeavored to cooperate in enforcing the common law of the land for the punishment of criminals. All civilized countries recognising the law of nations do this, and we have gone no farther than that in our pledge to the Governor. He says distinctly that he does not intend to attempt to enforce any of the *obnoxious laws* of Kansas. He knows too well our convictions to ever attempt it.

On his return to the camp last night, after the settlement had been completed, they were in a state of mutiny. The more respectable class were for obeying orders and starting for Missouri, but the hotspur mob were determined to fight, Governor or no Governor, and they swore they would hang him if they could. They have broke up to-day, and all are moving. At Lecompton, the same state of feeling exists. They have crossed over the river to-day, but swear vengeance on Shannon and Lawrence.

The Governor makes a bad show upon paper. No public man was ever more bamboozled, and he is quite thankful for any favor we may show him in extricating himself. In his proclamation he insults the whole Free State party, and most grossly belies them; now he is satisfied we are right, and have acted honorably in the whole affair, but that he was deceived and humbugged by Sheriff Jones and his rabble, till he thought his proclamation was justifiable. He admits that he issued it wholly on *ex parte* testimony, but that he only gave instructions to Jones and his Generals, Strickler and Richardson; that his *posse* was in fact very small, but that the main force from Missouri he did not recognise as his *posse*. On the other hand, the Missourians say they came by his orders. He says his small *posse* he can and will control; but the mob from the State he fears he cannot control, and that he fears them as much as we do. He has even gone so far as to instruct General Robinson to hold his enrolled companies in readiness to repel any of their invasions.

LAWRENCE, *Dec.* 12, 1855.

To-day our volunteer troops were disbanded. We ascertained that our enemies had passed the line, and hence there is no more occasion just now for their services.

According to Governor Shannon's order, we shall be remunerated for our services during the siege. The following is the order:

To C. Robinson, Commander of the enrolled citizens of Lawrence:

You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures and use the enrolled force under your command in such manner, for the preservation of the place and the protection of the property and the persons of the people of Lawrence and vicinity, as in your judgment shall best secure that end.

WILSON SHANNON.

Lawrence, December 9, 1855.

Here he commands that very force to defend our town from his own forces which he brought into the Territory, but which he could not control. He also pledges himself in the paper of settlement to use his influence to secure to our town pay for the damages sustained and property stolen *by the Sheriff's posse.* A proviso is also inserted in the treaty, if it may be called such, that no opinion was therein expressed as to the validity of the Legislature. This treaty is a private document just now, according to the Governor's wishes. Probably, if the armed horde had seen it, or fully understood its contents, they would not have gone back. It does not compromise the position of the Free State party, as laid down in their platform.

GOV. SHANNON CHANGING HIS POLICY.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T.,
December 13, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The Missouri invaders did not even find Shannon sufficiently subservient. He was in peril of his life in their camp, and well he might be, for M. J. Parrott, Esq., who was a prisoner there, says they were the most reckless, blood-thirsty, and lawless wretches, that could be gathered from the four corners of the earth. The officers had little control over them. By their drunken carelessness they killed, in camp, three of their own men. Such was Shannon's fear and chagrin, that he expressed his regret that he ever accepted the office of Governor.

The Lawrence men have acted nobly, in resisting a virtual siege for a week, by Atchison and his thousand ruffians. It may not be generally known that he was the leader of the men who, a few years ago, drove the Mormons out of Jackson county with fire and sword. They intended to play the same game with the Free State men, but they found them brave sons of noble sires. All hail to them! They held their Thermopylæ of Freedom against the barbarian hordes, and they were gloriously victorious. You will hear, ere this, that Shannon has made a remarkable change in his line of conduct. He says he was grossly deceived in regard to the true state of affairs. He approves of the defensive course of the Lawrence men, says their expenses of the war shall be paid. He has commissioned Col. Lane as Major General, and Dr. Robinson is made Brigadier General. This last-named gentleman enjoys more of the hatred of the Missourians than any man in the Territory. Shannon has also enrolled the Lawrence men into the Kansas militia, with authority to repel all foreign invasion.

I have again been obliged to write in haste.

Yours, JOHN H. BYRD.

ONE WEEK LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Pacific—The Fall of Kars—More Fighting in the Crimea.

The Collins mail steamship Pacific, Capt. Eldredge, arrived at half past 4 o'clock Friday afternoon. She sailed from Liverpool on Saturday, the 15th inst.

FALL OF KARS.

The heroic garrison of Kars have at last been compelled to surrender. The place has been starved out, and compelled to capitulate to the Russian army of General Muravieff. A most painful sensation has been created by this event in England, and there is but one opinion, that the gallant defenders of the place have been ruthlessly sacrificed to neglect, their critical position having been known for months past, and so little done to relieve them.

THE WAR IN THE CRIMEA—DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS.

There has unexpectedly been some fighting in the Crimea. A despatch from Sebastopol, of December 8, states:

"Between two and three thousand infantry and four and five hundred cavalry have attacked Baga, Orkousta, Skvaks. After an hour's sharp firing, the enemy beat a retreat, leaving in our hands about thirty prisoners, of whom two are officers, besides killed and wounded, the number of whom is unknown at present. Our loss is insignificant."

The places above named are villages at the eastern extremity of the valley of Baidar.

PROSPECTS OF PEACE.

The language now held on the subject of peace is more guarded, the question does not appear to have advanced a single step; and the Russian organs scout the idea of the Czar giving way; meanwhile, the state of monetary matters in Russia is beginning to tell, and considerable alarm has been created by the failure of the Imperial Bank of Odessa, which gave rise to disturbances in that city. The Russian Government has ordained that, to facilitate payments from the State Treasury, the normal proportion of bullion to be held by the bank against notes in circulation shall be diminished. It is feared that the payment of the interest of the public debt will be suspended. A loan of fifty million roubles has been contracted with the firm of Stieglitz, a third part of which will be issued at Hamburg, and the two others at Berlin and Amsterdam.

REDUCTION OF THE AUSTRIAN FORCES.

Austria is about to reduce her forces, and save thirty millions of florins. In this, we see a considerable step taken with regard to Russia, who, doubtless, entertains little doubt of the sincerity of her Austrian ally.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Regarding the affairs of Colonel Tür, the Wirtemberg *Moniteur* tells us that he will not be given up to the English, the British Government being convinced that the law is all on the side of Austria.

DROUGHT IN JAVA.

Advices from Java, by the overland mail of the 10th of October, mention that, owing to the continuance of drought, great apprehensions were entertained for the growing crops of rice, sugar, &c.

The following is the latest news from the East:

Marseilles, Dec. 12.—The Guage steam packet has just arrived, with dates from Constantinople of the 3d.

The English squadron had arrived at Constantinople. The English cavalry and that of the Anglo-Ottoman contingent had also arrived, and were to winter in the neighborhood of the Turkish capital.

The accounts from the Crimea are to the 30th ultimo. All military operations were suspended.

The troops are still employed in demolishing Sebastopol, and constructing shelter for themselves out of the ruins.

The Russians were removing from their lines of defence, and concentrating their troops at Bakshi-Serai and at Simpheropol.

THE BIBLE BURNER ACQUITTED.

Last week, after a two days' trial, *Vladimir Petcherine* was acquitted of the charge of burning a volume of the Holy Scriptures. It was proved in evidence that a number of so-called immoral works was delivered up to the Redemptorist fathers stationed at Kingston, near Dublin; and that of these the accused had made a bonfire in front of the chapel on the 6th November, in the presence of a large crowd.

It was satisfactorily shown that a Bible was among the books there burnt, but there was no evidence that Father Petcherine knew that it was there, or that he had any intention of bringing the Protestant version into contempt. Although there might have been no moral doubt upon the matter, (for we can scarcely believe the books were burnt without examination,) the jury very rightly considered the case not proved against the prisoner, and they gave a verdict accordingly. It is stated that the Roman Catholics were in a majority on the jury, but there is no reason to suppose that circumstance at all influenced the decision which they arrived at.

London Atlas, December 15.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1856.

☞ Governor Seward's speech enriches and President Pierce's speech impoverishes our columns this week.

CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT.

Against all precedent, the President sent in his Message to both Houses of Congress last Monday, the House being yet unorganized. It was read in the Senate, and ordered to be printed. An attempt was made to receive it in the House, but it failed. On a motion to have it read, which necessarily involved its reception, the vote stood 127 against, 88 for. Other motions were made, but the whole subject was laid upon the table.

The President was guilty of a gross impropriety in sending his Message to the House, the first business of which by law is to elect a Speaker. To have received and read the Message would have been one kind of business, and if the unorganized House be competent to this, it is competent to the reception of memorials, &c. The proceedings on the occasion were very disorderly, owing to the pertinacity of the Administration members.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We print, but have no room for comment. From a rapid glance at it, we judge it a mere electioneering document.

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION.

By referring to our Congressional record, the reader will observe that there was quite a flurry in the House last week, in consequence of a declaration by Mr. Millward, of Pennsylvania, that an attempt had been made to purchase his vote for Banks! It seems that Mr. Pearce, one of his colleagues, had said to him, jocularly, that he had no doubt he could be made Chairman of the Committee on Engraving, if he would vote for Banks. Thereupon, Mr. Millward proceeded to examine whether there was any such Committee, and not being able to find it *recorded*, applied to Humphrey Marshall for information, stating the reasons, &c. The shrewd Kentuckian advised him to proclaim the fact, and so he did, but the explanation to which his remarks led turned the whole thing into ridicule. Mr. Banks, as usual, when called upon to say anything, said what he had to say, briefly, clearly, conclusively, and again justified, as he has repeatedly done, the confidence reposed in him by his supporters.

MR. KNIGHT'S PROPOSITION.

The proposition of Mr. Knight, of Pennsylvania, moved in the House on the 26th of December, was as follows:

Resolved, That this House will continue to vote, *viva voce* and without debate, for a Speaker, to-day, to-morrow, and to the conclusion of the first vote on Friday next, if an election shall not sooner be made; and if there shall be no election upon the said first trial on Friday, then the House will proceed to a second trial on said day, when the person that shall be highest in vote, and having the majority of a quorum, shall be the Speaker of the thirty-fourth Congress.

Was not the proposition reasonable? The House had been in session nearly a month, and it was evident that before an organization, the adoption of the plurality rule was necessary. But Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, (Administration,) moved to lay it upon the table, and the Richardson and Fuller men, who still hoped for the disorganization of the party supporting Mr. Banks, laid it upon the table—Mr. Barksdale's motion prevailing by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barksdale, Bell, H. S. Bennett, Bocock, Boyce, Brooks, Broom, Cadwalader, John P. Campbell, L. D. Campbell, Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, H. Cobb, W. R. W. Cobb, Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, H. W. Davis, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, H. M. Fuller, T. J. D. Fuller, Goode, Greenwood, Augustus Hall, J. M. Harris, S. W. Harris, T. L. Harris, Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Houston, Jewett, G. W. Jones, J. G. Jones, Kelly, Kidwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall, H. Marshall, S. S. Marshall, Maxwell, McMullen, McQueen, S. Miller, Millson, Millward, Moore, M. Oliver, Orr, Paine, Peck, Porter, Powell, Pringle, Puryear, Quitman, Reade, Ready, Richardson, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Scott, Seward, Shorter, W. R. Smith, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Whitney, Winslow, J. V. Wright, and Zollicoffer—105.

NAYS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Barbour, H. Bennett, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Burlingame, J. H. Campbell, Chaffee, E. Clark, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, T. Davis, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Granger, Grow, R. B. Hall, Harlan, Holloway, T. R. Horton, V. B. Horton, Howard, Hughston, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Leiter, Mace, McCarty, Meacham, K. Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Norton, A. Oliver, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Purviance, Ritchie, Robison, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, C. C. Washburne, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Watson, Wood, Woodruff, and Woodworth—94.

Not a single Administration man or Know Nothing voting in the negative. This fact proves that in the judgment of the Richardson and Fuller faction, and in the opinion of the Scattering, had the plurality rule been adopted, Mr. Banks would have been elected. His supporters did not *know* this, but were willing, for the sake of organization, to take the risk; but his opponents believed that he would be elected, and were more intent on defeating him than on preparing the way for the transaction of public business.

Our readers will again notice the names of Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, and Mr. PRINGLE, of New York, recorded with the Richardson and Fuller men, as also the names of Messrs. Dunn and Scott, of Indiana, and Harrison and Moore, of Ohio.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS—EXPERIMENTS.

Much is said, and with truth, of the evils of National Nominating Conventions. That they are often packed by intriguers, misled by demagogues, misrepresent public sentiment, and impose upon the People the apparent necessity of choosing between evils, is admitted. Under ordinary circumstances, with two Parties, fully organized and arrayed against each other, on ordinary issues, we should be disposed to aid any reasonable movement calculated to break up the convention system, even at the hazard of defeat to the Party with which we might be identified. But, we submit to the *New York Tribune* and some of our New York friends, that this is not the time for trying new experiments, and for embarking in a movement to reform our present mode of nominating and electing Presidential candidates.

In a recent number of that paper is a labored article, proposing a new plan of nomination, which, it is assured, will avoid the *mischiefs* of a National Convention. Let us admit that it is a very good one: are our friends sanguine enough to hope that it will meet with universal or even general concurrence? Some will not understand it, some will misunderstand it, some will assent to it with amendments, some will reject it. Now, recollect, we have only a few months for consultation and action. How are we to harmonize our views within so short a period? In the effort to expose the evils of National Conventions, and provide a substitute, we shall lose sight of the main question. It will be like adding a new issue, on which we must disagree, to the great issue on which we do agree.

The two sections of our opponents are organized, having each the advantages of regular party machinery. The Know Nothings have their thoroughly disciplined organization, will meet in National Convention, and select a Presidential ticket which will command the support of all branches of that organization. The Administration Party has its National Committee; its National Convention will meet in Cincinnati, and select a Presidential ticket which will command the support of all branches of that organization. With these trained parties, moving at the will and under the discipline of the Slave Power, with their well-tried party machinery, and their Convention nominations, which will undoubtedly receive the support of all those who continue members of those Parties, it would be a hazardous, almost hopeless, undertaking for us, even if a well-organized party, to attempt to make head against them, by giving up the Convention system, which we know would insure unanimity, and by adopting the plan of State nomination, which has never been tried, which is hard to be understood by the People, and which we have no reason to believe would secure unanimity. But, when we call to mind the fact, that we are not in form and organization a National Party, that we are without the experience, the discipline, the machinery, of a National Party—that we are an aggregate of voters who have belonged to all Parties, but have never yet acted together in a national contest, do not know each other, have yet to adopt some common ground on which we can be brought to act efficiently in one organization, surely every one must see the absolute necessity of mutual consultation, and of holding a National Convention, to define the issues on which we will act, and determine the nominations we will support.

At this late hour, when, by a series of flagrant aggressions on the part of the Slave Power, the People have been aroused to resistance, and now stand ready to confront and put down that domineering and dangerous Interest, let us not mystify them by new expedients, but allow them to meet the common enemy in the way and with the instrumentalities they are used to, and so well understand.

Hereafter, when power shall have been transferred to the side of Freedom, and its friends stand forth, a well-organized, thoroughly disciplined, prevailing Party, it may become their duty to propose some plan for the election of President, free from the evils to which the present one is liable.

THE MOTION FOR TEMPORARY SPEAKER.

We referred last week, in terms of disapprobation, to the motion of Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, to make Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, temporary Speaker, characterizing it as a movement calculated to disorganize the body of voters supporting Mr. Banks, and bring about the ultimate election of an Administration man or National Know Nothing as permanent Speaker. Such was the nearly unanimous opinion of our friends, and so thought the opponents of Mr. Banks, if we may judge from their ill-concealed exultation at the movement.

As our paper was then going to press, we had not time to notice the reasons on which Mr. Campbell grounded his motion. The House having adopted a resolution to sit permanently till the election of a Speaker, he assumed that there would be night sessions—but such sessions heretofore had been disgraced by scenes of disorder and turbulence. He would not predict the recurrence of scenes of this kind, but it would be wise to guard against them. The Clerk had well discharged the duties of a presiding officer, thus far; but the time was now approaching when it was important that the chair should be filled by a member of the House, experienced, versed in parliamentary law, and able to preserve order in the most trying circumstances. And for a precedent, the case of the New Jersey election was referred to, when John Quincy Adams was elected temporary Speaker. He would therefore move the election of Mr. Orr, of South Carolina.

We could not see the force of this reasoning. The House had shown itself fully capable of maintaining order. No indication of violence had been manifested. Mr. Orr, if elected, would not have had any more power to enforce order, than the Clerk, Mr. Forney, whose bearing had been such as to conciliate the support of the whole House. After all, everything depended upon the members themselves. As to the precedent referred to, it was not a parallel case. It involved no question respecting Slavery, or its influence in the organization of the House—but a technical question, concerning an election case. The selection of John Quincy Adams could not be construed or used, as preparing the way for his election as permanent Speaker. Mr. Adams, besides, stood alone, aloof from parties, an ex-President, illustrious above all his fellow members. But, Mr. Orr, although an excellent presiding officer, and a fair man, can pretend to no such distinction. Besides, he is identified intimately with a sectional Party which is seeking to place the organization of the House under the control of the Slave Power, and he had been spoken of as a candidate on whom ultimately all factions of that sectional Party might rally. A motion under such circumstances to elect such a man as temporary Speaker, would prove, in all probability, the first step to making him the permanent Speaker. So felt the whole House, unless we greatly misunderstood the demonstrations, and those with whom Mr. Campbell had acted, were astonished and alarmed.

But, thank Heaven! the danger passed away. The House resolved on a recess till ten o'clock the following day, when Mr. Campbell withdrew his motion, remarking that, as the House had made up its mind to avoid night sessions, there was no longer any necessity for it. At his instance, the House then rescinded the resolution for a permanent session.

We hope that the motion may never be repeated. If anybody is to be placed in the Chair as temporary Speaker, let it be Mr. Banks, who has received the largest number of votes, and is the choice of the strongest party in the House. But every one sees that there is no reason for displacing the Clerk from his present position. He acts promptly and fairly; his functions are simple, and readily discharged; and the House proves itself sufficient to its own government. Let no motion be brought forward calculated to awaken differences of opinion or distrust among the supporters of Mr. Banks. And we hope that they will not be seduced into the support of any unreasonable proposition introduced by the sectionalists of the House, like that introduced by Mr. Stephens, which gave occasion for the unfortunate motion of Mr. Campbell. The country will not expect the friends of organization in the House to hold night sessions, or to attempt to starve their opponents into acquiescence. Balloting continually, from day to day, avoiding all frivolous motions and useless debate, they will stand acquitted before the People, whatever the result.

As it is important to keep our friends well advised in relation to the votes on these various movements, we present the yea-and-nay vote on the motion to lay upon the table the resolution of Mr. Campbell.

It will be seen that the body of Mr. Banks's supporters desired to lay it on the table; but a few of them were absent, or voted with Mr. Campbell. The Richardson and Fuller men, and the Scattering, voted of course in the negative.

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Barbour, Henry Bennett, Benson, Billinghurst, Bingham, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Burlingame, James H. Campbell, Chaffee, Ezra Clark, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Cragin, Cumback, Damrell, Timothy Davis, Day, Dean, De Witt, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Emrie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Robert B. Hall, Harlan, Holloway, T. R. Horton, Howard, Hughston, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Leiter, Mace, McCarty, Meacham, Killian Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Nichols, Parker, Pearce, Pelton, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Simmons, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Cadwalader C. Washburne, Elihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff, and Woodworth—88.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barksdale, Bell, Henry S. Bennett, Bocock, Boyce, Brooks, Broom, Cadwalader, John P. Campbell, Lewis D. Campbell, Carlile, Caruthers, Caskie, Bayard Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Henry Winter Davis, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Edwards, Elliott, English, Etheridge, Eustis, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Henry M. Fuller, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Goode, Greenwood, Augustus Hall, J. Morrison Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Thomas L. Harris, Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Valentine B. Horton, Houston, G. W. Jones, J. Glancy Jones, Kelly, Kidwell, Knox, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall, Sam. S. Marshall, Maxwell, McMullen, McQueen, Smith Miller, Millson, Millward, Moore, Norton, And. Oliver, Mordecai Oliver, Paine, Peck, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Reade, Ready, Richardson, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Scott, Seward, Shorter, Samuel A. Smith, Wm. R. Smith, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Whitney, Winslow, John V. Wright, and Zollicoffer—108.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall assemble annually on the first Monday of December, and it has been usual for the President to make no communication of a public character to the Senate and House of Representatives until advised of their readiness to receive it. I have deferred to this usage until the close of the first month of the session, but my convictions of duty will not permit me longer to postpone the discharge of the obligation enjoined by the Constitution upon the President, "to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

It is matter of congratulation that the Republic is tranquilly advancing in a career of prosperity and peace.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—CENTRAL AMERICA.

Whilst relations of amity continue to exist between the United States and all foreign Powers, with some of them grave questions are depending, which may require the consideration of Congress.

Of such questions, the most important is that which has arisen out of the negotiations with Great Britain, in reference to Central America.

By the convention concluded between the two Governments on the 19th of April, 1850, both parties covenanted, that "neither will ever" "occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America."

It was the undoubted understanding of the United States, in making this treaty, that all the present States of the former Republic of Central America, and the entire territory of each, would thenceforth enjoy complete independence; and that both contracting parties engaged equally, and to the same extent, for the present and for the future; that if either then had any claim of right in Central America, such claim, and all occupation or authority under it, were unreservedly relinquished by the stipulations of the convention; and that no dominion was thereafter to be exercised or assumed, in any part of Central America, by Great Britain or the United States.

This Government consented to restrictions in regard to a region of country wherein we had specific and peculiar interests, only upon the conviction that the like restrictions were in the same sense obligatory on Great Britain. But for this understanding of the force and effect of the convention, it would never have been concluded by us.

So clear was this understanding on the part of the United States, that, in correspondence contemporaneous with the ratification of the convention, it was distinctly expressed, that the mutual covenants of non-occupation were not intended to apply to the British establishment at the Balize. This qualification is to be ascribed to the fact, that, in virtue of successive treaties with previous sovereigns of the country, Great Britain had obtained a concession of the right to cut mahogany or dye-woods at the Balize, but with positive exclusion of all domain or sovereignty; and thus it confirms the natural construction and understood import of the treaty, as to all the rest of the region to which the stipulations applied.

It, however, became apparent, at an early day after entering upon the discharge of my present functions, that Great Britain still continued in the exercise or assertion of large authority in all that part of Central America commonly called the Mosquito Coast, and covering the entire length of the State of Nicaragua, and a part of Costa Rica; that she regarded the Balize as her absolute domain, and was gradually extending its limits at the expense of the State of Honduras; and that she had formally colonized a considerable insular group, known as the Bay Islands, and belonging, of right, to that State.

All these acts or pretensions of Great Britain, being contrary to the rights of the States of Central America, and to the manifest tenor of her stipulations with the United States, as understood by this Government, have been made the subject of negotiation through the American Minister in London. I transmit herewith the instructions to him on the subject, and the correspondence between him and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, by which you will perceive that the two Governments differ widely and irreconcilably as to the construction of the convention, and its effect on their respective relations to Central America.

Great Britain so construes the convention as to maintain unchanged all her previous pretensions over the Mosquito Coast, and in different parts of Central America. These pretensions, as to the Mosquito Coast, are founded on the assumption of political relation between Great Britain and the remnant of a tribe of Indians on that coast, entered into at a time when the whole country was a colonial possession of Spain. It cannot be successfully controverted, that, by the public law of Europe and America, no possible act of such Indians or their predecessors could confer on Great Britain any political rights.

Great Britain does not allege the assent of Spain as the origin of her claims on the Mosquito Coast. She has, on the contrary, by repeated and successive treaties, renounced and relinquished all pretensions of her own, and recognised the full and sovereign rights of Spain in the most unequivocal terms. Yet these pretensions, so without solid foundation in the beginning, and thus repeatedly abjured, were, at a recent period, revived by Great Britain against the Central American States, the legitimate successors to all the ancient jurisdiction of Spain in that region. They were first applied only to a defined part of the coast of Nicaragua, afterwards to the whole of its Atlantic coast, and lastly to a part of the coast of Costa Rica; and they are now re-asserted to this extent, notwithstanding engagements to the United States.

On the eastern coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the interference of Great Britain, though exerted at one time in the form of military occupation of the port of San Juan del Norte, then in the peaceful possession of the appropriate authorities of the Central American States, is now presented by her as the rightful exercise of a protectorship over the Mosquito tribe of Indians.

But the establishment at the Balize, now reaching far beyond its treaty limits into the State of Honduras, and that of the Bay Islands, appertaining of right to the same State, are as distinctly colonial Governments as those of Jamaica or Canada, and therefore contrary to the very letter as well as the spirit of the convention with the United States, as it was at the time of ratification, and now is, understood by this Government.

The interpretation which the British Government, thus in assertion and act, persists in ascribing to the convention, entirely changes its character. While it holds us to all our obligations, it in a great measure releases Great Britain from those which constituted the consideration of this Government for entering into the convention. It is impossible, in my judgment, for the United States to acquiesce in such a construction of the respective relations of the two Governments to Central America.

To a renewed call by this Government upon Great Britain, to abide by, and carry into effect, the stipulations of the convention according to its obvious import, by withdrawing from the possession or colonization of portions of the Central American States of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, the British Government has at length replied, affirming that the operation of the treaty is prospective only, and did not require Great Britain to abandon or contract any possessions held by her in Central America at the date of its conclusion.

This reply substitutes a partial issue, in the place of the general one presented by the United States. The British Government passes over the question of the rights of Great Britain, real or supposed, in Central America, and assumes that she had such rights at the date of the treaty, and that those rights comprehended the protectorship of the Mosquito Indians, the extended jurisdiction and limits of the Balize, and the colony of the Bay Islands, and thereupon proceeds by implication to infer, that, if the stipulations of the treaty be merely future in effect, Great Britain may still continue to hold the contested portions of Central America. The United States cannot admit either the inference or the premises. We steadily deny that, at the date of the treaty, Great Britain had any possessions there, other than the limited and peculiar establishment at the Balize; and maintain that, if she had any, they were surrendered by the convention.

This Government, recognising the obligations of the treaty, has of course desired to see it executed in good faith by both parties, and in the discussion, therefore, has not looked to rights which we might assert, independently of the treaty, in consideration of our geographical position and of other circumstances, which create for us relations to the Central American States, different from those of any Government of Europe.

The British Government, in its last communication, although well knowing the views of the United States, still declares that it sees no reason why a conciliatory spirit may not enable the two Governments to overcome all obstacles to a satisfactory adjustment of the subject.

Assured of the correctness of the construction of the treaty constantly adhered to by this Government, and resolved to insist on the rights of the United States, yet, actuated also by the same desire, which is avowed by the British Government, to remove all causes of serious misunderstanding between two nations associated by so many ties of interest and kindred, it has appeared to me proper not to consider an amicable solution of the controversy hopeless.

There is, however, reason to apprehend, that with Great Britain in the actual occupation of the disputed territories, and the treaty therefore practically null, so far as regards our rights, this international difficulty cannot long remain undetermined, without involving in serious danger the friendly relations which it is the interest as well as the duty of both countries to cherish and preserve. It will afford me sincere gratification, if future efforts shall result in the success anticipated heretofore with more confidence than the aspect of the case permits me now to entertain.

RECRUITMENT.

One other subject of discussion between the United States and Great Britain has grown out of the attempt, which the exigencies of the war in which she is engaged with Russia induced her to make, to draw recruits from the United States.

It is the traditional and settled policy of the United States to maintain impartial neutrality during the wars which from time to time occur among the great Powers of the world. Performing all the duties of neutrality towards the respective belligerent States, we may reasonably expect them not to interfere with our lawful enjoyment of its benefits. Notwithstanding the existence of such hostilities, our citizens retain the individual right to continue all their accustomed pursuits, by land or by sea, at home or abroad, subject only to such restrictions, in this relation, as the laws of war, the usage of nations, or special treaties, may impose; and it is our sovereign right that our territory and jurisdiction shall not be invaded by either of the belligerent parties, for the transit of their armies, the operations of their fleets, the levy of troops for their service, the fitting out of cruisers by or against either, or any other act or incident of war. And these undeniable rights of neutrality, individual and national, the United States will under no circumstances surrender.

In pursuance of this policy, the laws of the United States do not forbid their citizens to sell to either of the belligerent Powers articles contraband of war, or to take munitions of war or soldiers on board their private ships for transportation; and although, in so doing, the individual citizen exposes his property or person to some of the hazards of war, his acts do not involve any breach of national neutrality, nor of themselves implicate the Government. Thus, during the progress of the present war in Europe, our citizens have, without national responsibility therefor, sold gunpowder and arms to all buyers, regardless of the destination of those articles. Our merchantmen have been, and still continue to be, largely employed by Great Britain and by France, in transporting troops, provisions, and munitions of war, to the principal seat of military operations, and in bringing home their sick and wounded soldiers; but such use of our mercantile marine is not interdicted either by the international or by our municipal law, and therefore does not compromit our neutral relations with Russia.

But our municipal law, in accordance with the law of nations, peremptorily forbids, not only foreigners, but our own citizens, to fit out, within the limits of the United States, a vessel to commit hostilities against any State with which the United States are at peace, or to increase the force of any foreign armed vessel intended for such hostilities against a friendly State.

Whatever concern may have been felt by either of the belligerent Powers, lest private armed cruisers, or other vessels, in the service of one, might be fitted out in the ports of this country to depredate on the property of the other, all such fears have proved to be utterly groundless. Our citizens have been withheld from any such act or purpose by good faith, and by respect for the law.

While the laws of this Union are thus peremptory in their prohibition of the equipment or armament of belligerent cruisers in our ports, they provide not less absolutely that no person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlist or enter himself, or hire or retain another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered, in the service of any foreign State, either as a soldier, or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer. And these enactments are also in strict conformity with the law of nations, which declares, that no State has the right to raise troops for land or sea service in another State, without its consent; and that, whether forbidden by the municipal law or not, the very attempt to do it, without such consent, is an attack on the national sovereignty.

Such being the public rights and the municipal law of the United States, no solicitude on the subject was entertained by this Government, when, a year since, the British Parliament passed an act to provide for the enlistment of foreigners in the military service of Great Britain. Nothing on the face of the act, or in its public history, indicated that the British Government proposed to attempt recruitment in the United States; nor did it ever give intimation of such intention to this Government. It was matter of surprise, therefore, to find, subsequently, that the engagement of persons within the United States to proceed to Halifax, in the British Province of Nova Scotia, and there enlist in the service of Great Britain, was going on extensively, with little or no disguise. Ordinary legal steps were immediately taken to arrest and punish parties concerned, and so put an end to acts infringing the municipal law, and derogatory to our sovereignty. Meanwhile, suitable representations on the subject were addressed to the British Government.

Thereupon it became known, by the admission of the British Government itself, that the attempt to draw recruits from this country originated with it, or at least had its approval and sanction; but it also appeared that the public agents engaged in it had "stringent instructions" not to violate the municipal law of the United States.

It is difficult to understand how it should have been supposed that troops could be raised here, by Great Britain, without violation of the municipal law. The unmistakable object of the law was to prevent every such act, which, if performed, must be either in violation of the law, or in studied evasion of it; and, in either alternative, the act done would be alike injurious to the sovereignty of the United States.

In the mean time, the matter acquired additional importance, by the recruitments in the United States not being discontinued, and the disclosure of the fact that they were prosecuted upon a systematic plan, devised by official authority; that recruiting rendezvous had been opened in our principal cities, and depots for the reception of recruits established on our frontier; and the whole business conducted under the supervision and by the regular co-operation of British officers, civil and military, some in the North American provinces, and some in the United States. The complicity of those officers in an undertaking, which could only be accomplished by defying our laws, throwing suspicion over our attitude of neutrality, and disregarding our territorial rights, is conclusively proved by the evidence elicited on the trial of such of their agents as have been apprehended and convicted. Some of the officers thus implicated are of high official position, and many of them beyond our jurisdiction, so that legal proceedings could not reach the source of the mischief.

These considerations, and the fact that the cause of complaint was not a mere casual occurrence, but a deliberate design, entered upon with full knowledge of our laws and national policy, and conducted by responsible public functionaries, impelled me to present the case to the British Government, in order to secure, not only a cessation of the wrong, but its reparation. The subject is still under discussion, the result of which will be communicated to you in due time.

I repeat the recommendation submitted to the last Congress, that provision be made for the appointment of a Commissioner, in connection with Great Britain, to survey and establish the boundary line which divides the Territory of Washington from the contiguous British possessions. By reason of the extent and importance of the country in dispute, there has been imminent danger of collision between the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States, including their respective authorities in that quarter. The prospect of a speedy arrangement has contributed hitherto to induce on both sides forbearance to assert by force what each claims as a right. Continuance of delay on the part of the two Governments to act in the matter will increase the dangers and difficulties of the controversy.

Misunderstanding exists as to the extent, character, and value of the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the property of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, reserved in our treaty with Great Britain relative to the Territory of Oregon. I have reason to believe that a cession of the rights of both companies to the United States, which would be the readiest means of terminating all questions, can be obtained on reasonable terms; and, with a view to this end, I present the subject to the attention of Congress.

The Colony of Newfoundland, having enacted the laws required by the treaty of the 5th of June, 1854, is now placed on the same footing, in respect to commercial intercourse with the United States, as the other British North American Provinces.

The commission, which that treaty contemplated, for determining the rights of fishery in rivers and mouths of rivers on the coasts of the United States and the British North American Provinces, has been organized, and has commenced its labors; to complete which, there is needed further appropriations for the service of another season.

SOUND DUES.

In pursuance of the authority conferred by a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed on the 3d of March last, notice was given to Denmark, on the 14th day of April, of the intention of this Government to avail itself of the stipulation of the subsisting convention of friendship, commerce, and navigation, between that Kingdom and the United States, whereby either party might, after ten years, terminate the same at the expiration of one year from the date of notice for that purpose.

The considerations which led me to call the attention of Congress to that convention, and induced the Senate to adopt the resolution referred to, still continue in full force. The convention contains an article, which, although it does not directly engage the United States to submit to the imposition of tolls on the vessels and cargoes of Americans passing into or from the Baltic Sea, during the continuance of the treaty, yet may, by possibility, be construed as implying such submission. The exaction of those tolls not being justified by any principle of international law, it became the right and the duty of the United States to relieve themselves from the implication of engagement on the subject, so as to be perfectly free to act in the premises in such way as their public interests and honor shall demand.

I remain of the opinion that the United States ought not to submit to the payment of the Sound dues, not so much because of their amount, which is a secondary matter, but because it is in effect the recognition of the right of Denmark to treat one of the great maritime highways of nations as a close sea, and the navigation of it as a privilege for which tribute may be imposed upon those who have occasion to use it.

This Government, on a former occasion, not unlike the present, signalized its determination to maintain the freedom of the seas and of the great natural channels of navigation. The Barbary States had for a long time coerced the payment of tribute from all nations whose ships frequented the Mediterranean. To the last demand of such payment made by them, the United States, although suffering less by their depredations than many other nations, returned the explicit answer, that we preferred war to tribute, and thus opened the way to the relief of the commerce of the world from an ignominious tax, so long submitted to by the more powerful nations of Europe.

If the manner of the payment of the Sound dues differ from that of the tribute formerly conceded to the Barbary States, still their exaction by Denmark has no better foundation in right. Each was, in its origin, nothing but a tax on a common natural right, extorted by those who were at that time able to obstruct the free and secure enjoyment of it, but who no longer possess that power.

Denmark, while resisting our assertion of the freedom of the Baltic Sound and Belts, has indicated a readiness to make some new arrangement on the subject, and has invited the Governments interested, including the United States, to be represented in a Convention, to assemble for the purpose of receiving and considering a proposition, which she intends to submit, for the capitalization of the Sound dues, and the distribution of the sum to be paid as commutation among the Governments, according to the respective proportions of their maritime commerce to and from the Baltic. I have declined, in behalf of the United States, to accept this invitation, for the most cogent reasons. One is, that Denmark does not offer to submit to the Convention the question of her right to levy the Sound dues. A second is, that, if the Convention were allowed to take cognizance of that particular question, still it would not be competent to deal with the great international principle involved, which affects the right, in other cases of navigation and commercial freedom, as well as that of access to the Baltic. Above all, by the express terms of the proposition it is contemplated, that the consideration of the Sound dues shall be commingled with, and made subordinate to, a matter wholly extraneous, the balance of power among the Governments of Europe.

While, however, rejecting this proposition, and insisting on the right of free transit into and from the Baltic, I have expressed to Denmark a willingness, on the part of the United States, to share liberally with other Powers in compensating her for any advantages which commerce shall hereafter derive from expenditures made by her for the improvement and safety of the navigation of the Sound or Belts.

I lay before you, herewith, sundry documents on the subject, in which my views are more fully disclosed. Should no satisfactory arrangement be soon concluded, I shall again call your attention to the subject, with recommendation of such measures as may appear to be required in order to assert and secure the rights of the United States, so far as they are affected by the pretensions of Denmark.

FRANCE.

I announce, with much gratification, that, since the adjournment of the last Congress, the question, then existing between this Government and that of France, respecting the French consul at San Francisco, has been satisfactorily determined, and that the relations of the two Governments continue to be of the most friendly nature.

GREECE.

A question, also, which has been pending for several years between the United States and the Kingdom of Greece, growing out of the sequestration, by public authorities of that country, of property belonging to the present American consul at Athens, and which had been the subject of very earnest discussion heretofore, has recently been settled, to the satisfaction of the party interested, and of both Governments.

SPAIN.

With Spain, peaceful relations are still maintained, and some progress has been made in securing the redress of wrongs complained of by this Government. Spain has not only disavowed and disapproved the conduct of the officers who illegally seized and detained the steamer Black Warrior at Havana, but has also paid the sum claimed as indemnity for the loss thereby inflicted on citizens of the United States.

In consequence of a destructive hurricane, which visited Cuba in 1844, the supreme authority of that island issued a decree, permitting the importation, for the period of six months, of certain building materials and provisions, free of duty, but revoked it when about half the period only had elapsed, to the injury of citizens of the United States, who had proceeded to act on the faith of that decree. The Spanish Government refused indemnification to the parties aggrieved until recently, when it was assented to, payment being promised to be made so soon as the amount due can be ascertained.

Satisfaction claimed for the arrest and search of the steamer El Dorado has not yet been accorded, but there is reason to believe that it will be; and that case, with others, continues to be urged on the attention of the Spanish Government. I do not abandon the hope of concluding with Spain some general arrangement, which, if it do not wholly prevent the recurrence of difficulties in Cuba, will render them less frequent, and, whenever they shall occur, facilitate their more speedy settlement.

MEXICO.

The interposition of this Government has been invoked by many of its citizens, on account of injuries done to their persons and property, for which the Mexican Republic is responsible. The unhappy situation of that country, for some time past, has not allowed its Government to give due consideration to claims of private reparation, and has appeared to call for and justify some forbearance in such matters on the part of this Government. But, if the revolutionary movements, which have lately occurred in that Republic, end in the organization of a stable Government, urgent appeals to its justice will then be made, and, it may be hoped, with success, for the redress of all complaints of our citizens.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

In regard to the American Republics, which, from their proximity and other considerations, have peculiar relations to this Government, while it has been my constant aim strictly to observe all the obligations of political friendship and of good neighborhood, obstacles to this have arisen in some of them, from their own insufficient power to check lawless irruptions, which in effect throws most of the task on the United States. Thus it is that the distracted internal condition of the State of Nicaragua has made it incumbent on me to appeal to the good faith of our citizens to abstain from unlawful intervention in its affairs, and to adopt preventive measures to the same end, which, on a similar occasion, had the best results in reassuring the peace of the Mexican States of Sonora and Lower California.

TREATIES.

Since the last session of Congress, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and for the surrender of fugitive criminals, with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, with Nicaragua; and a convention of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Kingdom, have been negotiated. The latter Kingdom and the State of Nicaragua have also acceded to a declaration recognising as international rights the principles contained in the convention between the United States and Russia of the 22d of July, 1854. These treaties and conventions will be laid before the Senate for ratification.

TREASURY.

The statement made, in my last annual message, respecting the anticipated receipts and expenditures of the Treasury, have been substantially verified.

It appears, from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that the receipts during the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1855, from all sources, were sixty-five million three thousand nine hundred and thirty dollars; and that the public expenditures for the same period, exclusive of payments on account of the public debt, amounted to fifty-six million three hundred and sixty-five thousand three hunnred and ninety-three dollars. During the same period, the payments made in redemption of the public debt, including interest and premium, amounted to nine million eight hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred and twenty-eight dollars.

The balance in the Treasury at the beginning of the present fiscal year, July 1, 1855, was eighteen million nine hundred and thirty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-six dollars; the receipts for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters, amount, together, to sixty-seven million nine hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-four dollars; thus affording, in all, as the available resources of the current fiscal year, the sum of eighty-six million eight hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hundred and ten dollars.

If to the actual expenditures of the first quarter of the current fiscal year be added the probable expenditures for the remaining three quarters, as estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury, the sum total will be seventy-one million two hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-six dollars, thereby leaving an estimated balance in the Treasury, on July 1, 1856, of fifteen million six hundred and twenty-three thousand eight hundred and sixty-three dollars and forty-one cents.

In the above estimated expenditure of the

present fiscal year are included three million dollars, to meet the last instalment of the ten million provided for in the late treaty with Mexico, and seven million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, appropriated on account of the debt due to Texas; which two sums make an aggregate amount of ten million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and reduce the expenditures, actual or estimated, for ordinary objects of the year, to the sum of sixty million four hundred and seventy-six thousand dollars.

The amount of the public debt at the commencement of the present fiscal year was forty million five hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and thirty-one dollars, and, deduction being made of subsequent payments, the whole public debt of the Federal Government remaining at this time is less than forty million dollars.

The remnant of certain other Government stocks, amounting to two hundred and forty-three thousand dollars, referred to in my last message as outstanding, has since been paid.

I am fully persuaded that it would be difficult to devise a system superior to that by which the fiscal business of the Government is now conducted. Notwithstanding the great number of public agents of collection and disbursement, it is believed that the checks and guards provided, including the requirement of monthly returns, render it scarcely possible for any considerable fraud on the part of those agents, or neglect involving hazard of serious public loss, to escape detection. I renew, however, the recommendation, heretofore made by me, of the enactment of a law declaring it felony, on the part of public officers, to insert false entries in their books of record or account, or to make false returns, and also requiring them on the termination of their service to deliver to their successors all books, records, and other objects of a public nature, in their custody.

Derived as our public revenue is, in chief part, from duties on imports, its magnitude affords gratifying evidence of the prosperity, not only of our commerce, but of the other great interests upon which that depends.

The principle that all moneys not required for the current expenses of the Government should remain for active employment in the hands of the people, and the conspicuous fact that the annual revenue from all sources exceeds, by many millions of dollars, the amount needed for a prudent and economical administration of public affairs, cannot fail to suggest the propriety of an early revision and reduction of the tariff of duties on imports. It is now so generally conceded that the purpose of revenue alone can justify the imposition of duties on imports, that, in readjusting the impost tables and schedules, which unquestionably require essential modifications, a departure from the principles of the present tariff is not anticipated.

ARMY.

The army, during the past year, has been actively engaged in defending the Indian frontier, the state of the service permitting but few and small garrisons in our permanent fortifications. The additional regiments authorized at the last session of Congress have been recruited and organized, and a large portion of the troops have already been sent to the field. All the duties which devolve on the military establishment have been satisfactorily performed, and the dangers and privations incident to the character of the service required of our troops have furnished additional evidence of their courage, zeal, and capacity to meet any requisition which their country may make upon them. For the details of the military operations, the distribution of the troops, and additional provisions required for the military service, I refer to the report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents.

Experience, gathered from events which have transpired since my last annual message, has but served to confirm the opinion then expressed, of the propriety of making provision, by a retired list, for disabled officers, and for increased compensation to the officers retained on the list for active duty. All the reasons which existed, when these measures were recommended on former occasions, continue without modification, except so far as circumstances have given some of them additional force.

The recommendations heretofore made for a partial reorganization of the army, are also renewed. The thorough elementary education given to those officers who commence their service with the grade of cadet, qualifies them, to a considerable extent, to perform the duties of every arm of the service; but to give the highest efficiency to artillery, requires the practice and special study of many years; and it is not, therefore, believed to be advisable to maintain, in time of peace, a larger force of that arm than can be usually employed in the duties appertaining to the service of field and siege artillery. The duties of the staff, in all its various branches, belong to the movements of troops, and the efficiency of an army in the field would materially depend upon the ability with which those duties are discharged. It is not, as in the case of the artillery, a speciality, but requires, also, an intimate knowledge of the duties of an officer of the line; and it is not doubted that, to complete the education of an officer, for either the line or the general staff, it is desirable that he shall have served in both. With this view, it was recommended, on a former occasion, that the duties of the staff should be mainly performed by details from the line; and, with a conviction of the advantages which would result from such a change, it is again presented to the consideration of Congress.

NAVY.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, herewith submitted, exhibits in full the naval operations of the past year, together with the present condition of the service, and it makes suggestions of further legislation, to which your attention is invited.

The construction of the six steam frigates, for which appropriations were made by the last Congress, has proceeded in the most satisfactory manner, and with such expedition as to warrant the belief that they will be ready for service early in the coming spring. Important as this addition to our naval force is, it still remains inadequate to the contingent exigencies of the protection of the extensive sea coast and vast commercial interests of the United States. In view of this fact, and of the acknowledged wisdom of the policy of a gradual and systematic increase of the navy, an appropriation is recommended for the construction of six steam sloops of war.

In regard to the steps taken in execution of the act of Congress to promote the efficiency of the navy, it is unnecessary for me to say more than to express entire concurrence in the observations on that subject presented by the Secretary in his report.

POST OFFICE.

It will be perceived, by the report of the Postmaster General, that the gross expenditure of the Department for the last fiscal year was nine million nine hundred and sixty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two dollars; and the gross receipts seven million three hundred and forty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-six dollars—making an excess of expenditure over receipts, of two million six hundred and twenty-six thousand two hundred and six dollars; and that the cost of mail transportation during that year was six hundred and seventy-four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two dollars greater than the previous year. Much of the heavy expenditures, to which the Treasury is thus subjected, is to be ascribed to the large quantity of printed matter conveyed by the mails, either franked, or liable to no postage by law, or to very low rates of postage, compared with that charged on letters; and to the great cost of mail service on railroads and by ocean steamers. The suggestions of the Postmaster General on the subject deserve the consideration of Congress.

INTERIOR.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior will engage your attention, as well for useful suggestions it contains, as for the interest and importance of the subjects to which they refer.

The aggregate amount of public land sold during the last fiscal year, located with military scrip or land warrants, taken up under grants for roads, and selected as swamp lands by States, is twenty-four million five hundred and fifty-seven thousand four hundred and nine acres; of which the portion sold was fifteen million seven hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and twenty-four acres, yielding in receipts the sum of eleven million four hundred and eighty-five thousand three hundred and eighty dollars. In the same period of time, eight million seven hundred and twenty-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-four acres have been surveyed; but, in consideration of the quantity already subject to entry, no additional tracts have been brought into market.

The peculiar relation of the General Government to the District of Columbia renders it proper to commend to your care not only its material, but also its moral interests, including education, more especially in those parts of the District outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown.

The Commissioners appointed to revise and codify the laws of the District have made such progress in the performance of their task, as to insure its completion in the time prescribed by the act of Congress.

Information has recently been received, that the peace of the settlements in the Territories of Oregon and Washington is disturbed by hostilities on the part of the Indians, with indications of extensive combinations of a hostile character among the tribes in that quarter, the more serious in their possible effect by reason of the undetermined foreign interests existing in those Territories, to which your attention has already been especially invited. Efficient measures have been taken, which, it is believed, will restore quiet, and afford protection to our citizens.

In the Territory of Kansas, there have been acts prejudicial to good order, but as yet none have occurred under circumstances to justify the interposition of the Federal Executive. That could only be in case of obstruction to Federal law, or of organized resistance to Territorial law, assuming the character of insurrection, which, if it should occur, it would be my duty promptly to overcome and suppress. I cherish the hope, however, that the occurrence of any such untoward event will be prevented by the sound sense of the people of the Territory, who, by its organic law, possessing the right to determine their own domestic institutions, are entitled, while deporting themselves peacefully, to the free exercise of that right, and must be protected in the enjoyment of it, without interference on the part of the citizens of any of the States.

The southern boundary line of this Territory has never been surveyed and established. The rapidly-extending settlements in that region, and the fact that the main route between Independence, in the State of Missouri, and New Mexico, is contiguous to this line, suggest the probability that embarrassing questions of jurisdiction may consequently arise. For these and other considerations, I commend the subject to your early attention.

CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have thus passed in review the general state of the Union, including such particular concerns of the Federal Government, whether of domestic or foreign relation, as it appeared to me desirable and useful to bring to the special notice of Congress. Unlike the great States of Europe and Asia, and many of those of America, these United States are wasting their strength neither in foreign war nor domestic strife.

Whatever of discontent or public dissatisfaction exists, is attributable to the imperfections of human nature, or is incident to all Governments, however perfect, which human wisdom can devise. Such subjects of political agitation, as occupy the public mind, consist, to a great extent, of exaggeration of inevitable evils, or over-zeal in social improvement, or mere imagination of grievance, having but remote connection with any of the constitutional functions or duties of the Federal Government. To whatever extent these questions exhibit a tendency menacing to the stability of the Constitution or the integrity of the Union, and no farther, they demand the consideration of the Executive, and require to be presented by him to Congress.

Before the thirteen Colonies became a Confederation of independent States, they were associated only by community of transatlantic origin, by geographical position, and by the mutual tie of common dependence on Great Britain. When that tie was sundered, they severally assumed the powers and rights of absolute self-government. The municipal and social institutions of each, its laws of property and of personal relation, even its political organization, were such only as each one chose to establish, wholly without interference from any other. In the language of the Declaration of Independence, each State had "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The several Colonies differed in climate, in soil, in natural productions, in religion, in systems of education, in legislation, and in the forms of political administration; and they continued to differ in these respects when they voluntarily allied themselves as States, to carry on the war of the Revolution.

The object of that war was to disenthral the United Colonies from foreign rule, which had proved to be oppressive, and to separate them permanently from the mother country; the political result was the foundation of a Federal Republic of the free white men of the Colonies, constituted, as they were, in distinct and reciprocally independent State Governments. As for the subject races, whether Indian or African, the wise and brave statesmen of that day, being engaged in no extravagant scheme of social change, left them as they were, and thus preserved themselves and their posterity from the anarchy and the ever-recurring civil wars which have prevailed in other revolutionized European Colonies of America.

When the confederated States found it convenient to modify the conditions of their association, by giving to the General Government direct access, in some respects, to the people of the States, instead of confining it to action on the States as such, they proceeded to frame the existing Constitution, adhering steadily to one guiding thought, which was, to delegate only such power as was necessary and proper to the execution of specific purposes, or, in other words, to retain as much as possible, consistently with those purposes, of the independent powers of the individual States. For objects of common defence and security, they intrusted to the General Government certain carefully-defined functions, leaving all others as the undelegated rights of the separate independent sovereignties.

Such is the constitutional theory of our Government, the practical observance of which has carried us, and us alone, among modern Republics, through nearly three generations of time, without the cost of one drop of blood shed in civil war. With freedom and concert of action, it has enabled us to contend successfully on the battle-field against foreign foes, has elevated the feeble Colonies into powerful States, and has raised our industrial productions, and our commerce which transports them, to the level of the richest and the greatest nations of Europe. And the admirable adaptation of our political institutions to their objects, combining local self-government with aggregate strength, has established the practicability of a Government like ours to cover a continent with confederate States.

The Congress of the United States is, in effect, that Congress of sovereignties, which good men in the Old World have sought for, but could never attain, and which imparts to America an exemption from the mutable league for common action, from the wars, the mutual invasions, and vague aspirations after the balance of power, which convulse from time to time the Governments of Europe. Our co-operative action rests in the conditions of permanent confederation prescribed by the Constitution. Our balance of power is in the separate reserved rights of the States, and their equal representation in the Senate. That independent sovereignty in every one of the States, with its reserved rights of local self-government assured to each by their co-equal power in the Senate, was the fundamental condition of the Constitution. Without it, the Union would never have existed. However desirous the larger States might be to reorganize the Government, so as to give to their population its proportionate weight in the common counsels, they knew it was impossible, unless they conceded to the smaller ones authority to exercise at least a negative influence on all the measures of the Government, whether legislative or executive, through their equal representation in the Senate. Indeed, the larger States themselves could not have failed to perceive that the same power was equally necessary to them, for the security of their own domestic interests against the aggregate force of the General Government. In a word, the original States went into this permanent league on the agreed premises, of exerting their common strength for the defence of the whole, and of all its parts; but of utterly excluding all capability of reciprocal aggression. Each solemnly bound itself to all the others, neither to undertake, nor permit, any encroachment upon, or intermeddling with, another's reserved rights.

Where it was deemed expedient, particular rights of the States were expressly guarantied by the Constitution; but, in all things beside, these rights were guarded by the limitation of the powers granted, and by express reservation of all powers not granted, in the compact of union. Thus, the great power of taxation was limited to purposes of common defence and general welfare, excluding objects appertaining to the local legislation of the several States; and those purposes of general welfare and common defence were afterwards defined by specific enumeration, as being matters only of corelation between the States themselves, or between them and foreign Governments, which, because of their common and general nature, could not be left to the separate control of each State.

Of the circumstances of local condition, interest, and rights, in which a portion of the States, constituting one great section of the Union, differed from the rest, and from another section, the most important was the peculiarity of a larger relative colored population in the Southern than in the Northern States.

A population of this class, held in subjection, existed in nearly all the States, but was more numerous and of more serious concernment in the South than in the North, on account of natural differences of climate and production; and it was foreseen that, for the same reasons, while this population would diminish, and, sooner or later, cease to exist, in some States, it might increase in others. The peculiar character and magnitude of this question of local rights, not in material relations only, but still more in social ones, caused it to enter into the special stipulations of the Constitution.

Hence, while the General Government, as well by the enumerated powers granted to it, as by those not enumerated, and therefore refused to it, was forbidden to touch this matter in the sense of attack or offence, it was placed under the general safeguard of the Union, in the sense of defence against either invasion or domestic violence, like all other local interests of the several States. Each State expressly stipulated, as well for itself as for each and all of its citizens, and every citizen of each State became solemnly bound by his allegiance to the Constitution, that any person, held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, should not, in consequence of any law or regulation thereof, be discharged from such service or labor, but should be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due, by the laws of his State.

Thus, and thus only, by the reciprocal guaranty of all the rights of every State against interference on the part of another, was the present form of government established by our fathers, and transmitted to us; and by no other means is it possible for it to exist. If one State ceases to respect the rights of another, and obtrusively intermeddles with its local interests—if a portion of the States assume to impose their institutions on the others, or refuse to fulfil their obligations to them—we are no longer united, friendly States, but distracted, hostile ones, with little capacity left of common advantage, but abundant means of reciprocal injury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether aggressive interference between the States, or deliberate refusal on the part of any one of them to comply with constitutional obligations, arise from erroneous conviction or blind prejudice, whether it be perpetrated by direction or indirection. In either case, it is full of threat and of danger to the durability of the Union.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

Placed in the office of Chief Magistrate, as the executive agent of the whole country, bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and specially enjoined by the Constitution to give information to Congress on the state of the Union, it would be palpable neglect of duty on my part to pass over a subject like this, which, beyond all things at the present time, vitally concerns individual and public security.

It has been matter of painful regret to see States, conspicuous for their services in founding this Republic, and equally sharing its advantages, disregard their constitutional obligations to it. Although conscious of their inability to heal admitted and palpable social evils of their own, and which are completely within their jurisdiction, they engage in the offensive and hopeless undertaking of reforming the domestic institutions of other States wholly beyond their control and authority. In the vain pursuit of ends, by them entirely unattainable, and which they may not legally attempt to compass, they peril the very existence of the Constitution, and all the countless benefits which it has conferred. While the people of the Southern States confine their attention to their own affairs, not presuming officiously to intermeddle with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in associations to inflict injury on the former, by wrongful acts, which would be cause of war as between foreign Powers, and only fail to be such in our system, because perpetrated under cover of the Union.

It is impossible to present this subject as truth and the occasion require, without noticing the reiterated but groundless allegation, that the South has persistently asserted claims and obtained advantages in the practical administration of the General Government, to the prejudice of the North, and in which the latter has acquiesced. That is, the States which either promote or tolerate attacks on the rights of persons and of property in other States, to disguise their own injustice, pretend or imagine, and constantly aver, that they, whose constitutional rights are thus systematically assailed, are themselves the aggressors. At the present time, this imputed aggression, resting, as it does, only in the vague, declamatory charges of political agitators, resolves itself into misapprehension, or misinterpretation, of the principles and facts of the political organization of the new Territories of the United States.

What is the voice of history? When the ordinance which provided for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, and for its eventual subdivision into new States, was adopted in the Congress of the Confederation, it is not to be supposed that the question of future relative power, as between the States which retained, and those which did not retain, a numerous colored population, escaped notice, or failed to be considered. And yet the concession of that vast Territory to the interests and opinions of the Northern States, a Territory now the seat of five among the largest members of the Union, was, in great measure, the act of the State of Virginia and of the South.

When Louisiana was acquired by the United States, it was an acquisition not less to the North than to the South; for while it was important to the country at the mouth of the river Mississippi to become the emporium of the country above it, so also it was even more important to the whole Union to have that emporium; and although the new province, by reason of its imperfect settlement, was mainly regarded as on the Gulf of Mexico, yet in fact it extended to the opposite boundaries of the United States, with far greater breadth above than below, and was in territory, as in everything else, equally at least an accession to the Northern States. It is mere delusion and prejudice, therefore, to speak of Louisiana as an acquisition in the special interest of the South.

The patriotic and just men who participated in that act were influenced by motives far above all sectional jealousies. It was in truth the great event which, by completing for us the possession of the valley of the Mississippi, with commercial access to the Gulf of Mexico, imparted unity and strength to the whole Confederation, and attached together by indissoluble ties the East and the West, as well as the North and the South.

As to Florida, that was but the transfer by Spain to the United States of territory on the east side of the river Mississippi, in exchange for large territory, which the United States transferred to Spain on the west side of that river, as the entire diplomatic history of the transaction serves to demonstrate. Moreover, it was an acquisition demanded by the commercial interests and the security of the whole Union.

In the mean time, the people of the United States had grown up to a proper consciousness of their strength, and in a brief contest with France, and in a second serious war with Great Britain, they had shaken off all which remained of undue reverence of Europe, and emerged from the atmosphere of those transatlantic influences which surrounded the infant Republic, and had begun to turn their attention to the full and systematic development of the internal resources of the Union.

Among the evanescent controversies of that period, the most conspicuous was the question of regulation by Congress of the social condition of the future States to be founded in the Territory of Louisiana.

The ordinance for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio had contained a provision, which prohibited the use of servile labor therein, subject to the condition of the extradition of fugitives from service due in any other part of the United States. Subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution, this provision ceased to remain as a law; for its operation, as such, was absolutely superseded by the Constitution. But the recollection of the fact excited the zeal of social propagandism in some sections of the Confederation; and, when a second State, that of Missouri, came to be formed in the Territory of Louisiana, proposition was made to extend to the latter Territory the restriction originally applied to the country situated between the rivers Ohio and Mississippi.

Most questionable, as was this proposition in all its constitutional relations, nevertheless it received the sanction of Congress, with some slight modifications of line, to save the existing rights of the intended new State. It was reluctantly acquiesced in by Southern States, as a sacrifice to the cause of peace and of the Union, not only of the rights stipulated by the treaty of Louisiana, but of the principle of equality among the States guarantied by the Constitution. It was received by the Northern States with angry and resentful condemnation and complaint, because it did not concede all which they had exactingly demanded. Having passed through the forms of legislation, it took its place in the statute book, standing open to repeal, like any other act of doubtful constitutionality, subject to be pronounced null and void by the courts of law, and possessing no possible efficacy to control the rights of the States which might thereafter be organized out of any part of the original Territory of Louisiana.

In all this, if any aggression there were, any innovation upon pre-existing rights, to which portion of the Union are they justly chargeable?

This controversy passed away with the occasion, nothing surviving it save the dormant letter of the statute.

But, long afterwards, when, by the proposed accession of the Republic of Texas, the United States were to take their next step in territorial greatness, a similar contingency occurred, and became the occasion for systematized attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of one section of the Union, in defiance of their rights as States, and of the stipulations of the Constitution. These attempts assumed a practical direction, in the shape of persevering endeavors, by some of the Representatives in both Houses of Congress, to deprive the Southern States of the supposed benefit of the provisions of the act authorizing the organization of the State of Missouri.

But the good sense of the people, and the vital force of the Constitution, triumphed over sectional prejudice and the political errors of the day, and the State of Texas returned to the Union as she was, with social institutions which her people had chosen for themselves, and with express agreement, by the re-annexing act, that she should be susceptible of subdivision into a plurality of States.

Whatever advantage the interests of the Southern States, as such, gained by this, were far inferior in results, as they unfolded in the progress of time, to those which sprang from previous concessions made by the South.

To every thoughtful friend of the Union—to the true lovers of their country—to all who longed and labored for the full success of this great experiment of republican institutions—it was cause of congratulation that such an opportunity had occurred to illustrate our advancing power on this continent, and to furnish to the world additional assurance of the strength and stability of the Constitution. Who would wish to see Florida still a European Colony? Who would rejoice to hail Texas as a lone star, instead of one in the galaxy of States? Who does not appreciate the incalculable benefits of the acquisition of Louisiana? And yet, narrow views and sectional purposes would inevitably have excluded them all from the Union.

But another struggle on the same point ensued, when our victorious armies returned from Mexico, and it devolved on Congress to provide for the territories acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The great relations of the subject had now become distinct and clear to the perception of the public mind, which appreciated the evils of sectional controversy upon the question of the admission of new States. In that crisis, intense solicitude pervaded the nation. But the patriotic impulses of the popular heart, guided by the admonitory advice of the Father of his Country, rose superior to all the difficulties of the incorporation of a new empire into the Union. In the counsels of Congress there was manifested extreme antagonism of opinion and action between some representatives, who sought, by the abusive and unconstitutional employment of the legislative powers of the Government, to interfere in the condition of the inchoate States, and to impose their own social theories upon the latter; and other representatives, who repelled the interposition of the General Government in this respect, and maintained the self-constituting rights of the States. In truth, the thing attempted was, in form alone, action of the General Government, while in reality it was the endeavor, by abuse of legislative power, to force the ideas of internal policy, entertained in particular States, upon allied independent States. Once more the Constitution and the Union triumphed signally. The new Territories were organized without restrictions on the disputed point, and were thus left to judge in that particular for themselves; and the sense of constitutional faith proved vigorous enough in Congress not only to accomplish this primary object, but also the incidental and hardly less important one, of so amending the provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service, as to place that public duty under the safe guard of the General Government, and thus relieve it from obstacles raised up by the legislation of some of the States.

Vain declamation regarding the provisions of law for the extradition of fugitives from service, with occasional episodes of frantic effort to obstruct their execution by riot and murder, continued, for a brief time, to agitate certain localities. But the true principle, of leaving each State and Territory to regulate its own laws of labor according to its own sense of right and expediency, had acquired fast hold of the public judgment, to such a degree, that, by common consent, it was observed in the organization of the Territory of Washington.

When, more recently, it became requisite to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, it was the natural and legitimate, if not the inevitable, consequence of previous events and legislation, that the same great and sound principle, which had already been applied to Utah and New Mexico, should be applied to them—that they should stand exempt from the restrictions proposed in the act relative to the State of Missouri.

These restrictions were, in the estimation of many thoughtful men, null from the beginning, unauthorized by the Constitution, contrary to the treaty stipulations for the cession of Louisiana, and inconsistent with the equality of the States.

They had been stripped of all moral authority, by persistent efforts to procure their indirect repeal through contradictory enactments. They had been practically abrogated by the legislation attending the organization of Utah, New Mexico, and Washington. If any vitality remained in them, it would have been taken away, in effect, by the new Territorial acts, in the form originally proposed to the Senate at the first session of the last Congress. It was manly and ingenuous, as well as patriotic and just, to do this directly and plainly, and thus relieve the statute-book of an act, which might be of possible future injury, but of no possible future benefit; and the measure of its repeal was the final consummation and complete recognition of the principle, that no portion of the United States shall undertake, through assumption of the powers of the General Government, to dictate the social institutions of any other portion.

The scope and effect of the language of repeal were not left in doubt. It was declared, in terms, to be "the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The measure could not be withstood upon its merits alone. It was attacked with violence, on the false or delusive pretext, that it constituted a breach of faith. Never was objection more utterly destitute of substantial justification. When, before, was it imagined by sensible men, that a regulative or declarative statute, whether enacted ten or forty years ago, is irrepealable—that an act of Congress is above the Constitution? If, indeed, there were in the facts any cause to impute bad faith, it would attach to those only who have never ceased, from the time of the enactment of the restrictive provision to the present day, to denounce and to condemn it; who have constantly refused to complete it by needful supplementary legislation; who have spared no exertion to deprive it of moral force; who have themselves again and again attempted its repeal by the enactment of incompatible provisions; and who, by the inevitable reactionary effect of their own violence on the subject, awakened the country to perception of the true constitutional principle, of leaving the matter involved to the discretion of the people of the respective existing or incipient States.

It is not pretended that this principle, or any other, precludes the possibility of evils in practice, disturbed, as political action is liable to be, by human passions. No form of government is exempt from inconveniences; but in this case they are the result of the abuse, and not of the legitimate exercise, of the powers reserved or conferred in the organization of a Territory. They are not to be charged to the great principle of popular sovereignty; on the contrary, they disappear before the intelligence and patriotism of the people, exerting through the ballot-box their peaceful and silent, but irresistible power.

If the friends of the Constitution are to have another struggle, its enemies could not present a more acceptable issue than that of a State, whose Constitution clearly embraces "a republican form of government," being excluded from the Union because its domestic institutions may not in all respects comport with the ideas of what is wise and expedient, entertained in some other State. Fresh from groundless imputations of breach of faith against others, men will commence the agitation of this new question with indubitable violation of an express compact between the independent sovereign powers of the United States, and of the Republic of Texas, as well as of the older and equally solemn compacts, which assure the equality of all the States.

But, deplorable as would be such a violation of compact in itself, and in all its direct consequences, that is the very least of the evils involved. When sectional agitators shall have succeeded in forcing on this issue, can their pretensions fail to be met by counter pretensions? Will not different States be compelled respectively to meet extremes with extremes? And, if either extreme carry its point, what is that so far forth but dissolution of the Union? If a new State, formed from the territory of the United States, be absolutely excluded from admission therein, that fact of itself constitutes the disruption of union between it and the other States. But the process of dissolution could not stop there. Would not a sectional decision, producing such result, by a majority of votes, either Northern or Southern, of necessity drive out the oppressed and aggrieved minority, and place in presence of each other two irreconcilably hostile Confederations?

It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offspring of that sectional agitation now prevailing in some of the States, which are as impracticable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is mere angry, idle, aimless disturbance of public peace and tranquillity. Disunion for what? If the passionate rage of fanaticism and partisan spirit did not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe, that any considerable portion of the people of this enlightened country could have so surrendered themselves to a fanatical devotion to the supposed interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abandon and disregard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans—to trample under foot the injunctions of moral and constitutional obligation—and to engage in plans of vindictive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our national institutions.

Nor is it hostility against their fellow-citizens of one section of the Union alone. The interests, the honor, the duty, the peace, and the prosperity of the people of all sections are equally involved and imperilled in this question. And are patriotic men in any part of the Union prepared, on such an issue, thus madly to invite all the consequences of the forfeiture of their constitutional engagements? It is impossible. The storm of phrensy and faction must inevitably dash itself in vain against the unshaken rock of the Constitution. I shall never doubt it. I know that the Union is stronger, a thousand times, than all the wild and chimerical schemes of social change, which are generated, one after another, in the unstable minds of visionary sophists and interested agitators. I rely confidently on the patriotism of the people, on the dignity and self-respect of the States, on the wisdom of Congress, and, above all, on the continued gracious favor of Almighty God, to maintain, against all enemies, whether at home or abroad, the sanctity of the Constitution and the integrity of the Union.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, *December* 31, 1855.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

Thursday, December 27, 1855.

SENATE.

The Senate did nothing, as usual, and adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE.

The House reassembled at ten o'clock.

The Clerk stated that the first business in order was the consideration of the resolution of Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, "that the Hon. James L. Orr, of South Carolina, be invited to preside over this body until a Speaker is elected," the pending question being on the substitute offered therefor by Mr. Colfax, of Indiana, as follows:

"That the three parties into which this House is divided, represented by the 105 votes for Mr. Banks, the 75 for Mr. Richardson, and the 40 for Mr. Fuller, shall each select a Speaker *pro tem.*, who shall preside over the deliberations of this House alternately, as they may mutually agree amongst themselves, until a Speaker is elected."

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, stated that his only object in presenting his resolution was to provide for such a temporary organization as would be calculated to preserve order during night sessions. He had, however, understood this morning that some of the friends of the resolution offered yesterday—that no motion to adjourn should be in order until a Speaker should be elected—were disposed to rescind it, in order that the House might proceed in the usual way to the election of a Speaker during proper hours.

Messrs. Orr and Campbell explained, stating that the resolution had not originated in any preconcerted arrangement.

Mr. Campbell said he would now withdraw his resolution, and move to rescind the resolution adopted yesterday, precluding motions to adjourn until a Speaker should be elected. He hoped the motion would prevail, and that the voting would be continued with as little debate as possible.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, called for the yeas and nays on the motion to rescind.

The yeas and nays were then ordered, and, being taken, resulted—yeas 112, nays 83. So the resolution was rescinded.

There being loud cries of "call the roll," the sixty-ninth vote for Speaker was had, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	100
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	66
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	30
Scattering	- - - - -	9
Whole number of votes given	-	205
Necessary to a choice	- - -	103

No candidate having received a majority of the whole number of votes, there was consequently no election.

Mr. Millward, of Pennsylvania, felt it his duty to state that a few moments ago a gentleman had come to him, and told him that if he would vote for Mr. Banks, he should be made chairman of the engraving, or lithographic, or printing committee.

Loud cries of "Who was it?" "Name him."

Mr. Millward. It was John J. Pearce, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Banks. No gentleman has any authority from me to offer the gentleman from Pennsylvania, who is a stranger to me, any such position.

Mr. Pearce. I am not nor have I been authorized by Mr. Banks to make any such pledge to Mr. Millward or anybody else. I saw Mr. Millward a few moments ago, and I asked him if he would like to be chairman of a committee. [Laughter.] I did not say that I was authorized by Mr. Banks to make him any promise.

Mr. Millward. I ask the gentleman if he did not a few moments ago ask me to leave my seat? I left my seat, and went behind the screen. The gentleman then asked me if it was against my conscience to vote for Mr. Banks? I inquired, "Why?" "Why," replied my colleague, "you can make a good thing of it." [Laughter.] "In what way?" I asked. Says he, "You can be made chairman of the printing, or lithographic, or engraving committee." Says I, "There is no such committee;" and I came within the bar, and examined the Manual, but found no such committee. I then inquired of Mr. H. Marshall if there was such a committee, and was told that there was. I then went out and heard what Mr. Pearce had to say. I said, "How do you know that I can be made chairman of that committee?" He replied, "I have just had a conversation with Mr. Banks, and he assured me that any promise I should make to you would be carried out."

Mr. Pearce. I positively deny what the gentleman asserts. The gentleman has certainly misconstrued my language.

Mr. Millward. There was no misconstruction. I never misconstrue.

Mr. Pearce. You have misunderstood what I said; and, from your own declaration, it seems that you examined the Manual, and found no such committee, and thereupon—

Mr. Millward. I appeal to Mr. Humphrey Marshall to state what occurred.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky. Mr. Millward came to me this morning, and asked if there was an engraving committee? I said there was, and asked him why. He then made the statement to me which he has just made to the House, and I told him he ought to expose it.

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania. I will ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Pearce] whether the conversation he had with Mr. Millward was of his own mere accord, or whether it emanated from any other member of the House, no matter whom?

Mr. Pearce. It was more in a playful manner on my part. [Laughter.] I was not authorized by Mr. Banks to make any such promise.

Mr. Millward. Did not the gentleman from Pennsylvania tell me that Mr. Banks had assured him, that in case I would vote for him, he would give me what my colleague had promised me?

Mr. Pearce. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. Millward. I say you did.

Mr. Pearce. I say I did not.

Mr. A. K. Marshall, of Kentucky, inquired of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Millward,] whether or not this was the only proposition which had ever been made, if not to himself, at least to other gentlemen upon the floor of the House? He would ask the gentleman if he was not aware of the fact that assurances had been given to some members of the Pennsylvania delegation, that if they would give their suffrages to a certain gentleman in the House, [Mr. Banks,] whose opinions in reference to free trade were fully known, they might rest assured, notwithstanding those opinions, that the iron, coal, and manufacturing interests of their State would be perfectly secure in his hands?

Mr. Millward. I have, sir, and am not the only member who has heard such assurances.

Cries of "Who are they?"

Mr. Millward. I insist upon my colleague answering my question, whether or not he had any conversation with Mr. Banks relative to this matter.

Mr. Pearce. I have distinctly stated to this House, and now repeat, that I have never been authorized by Mr. Banks or anybody——

Mr. Millward, (interrupting.) That is not the question. Had you, or had you not, any conversation with Mr. Banks on the subject of which you spoke to me?

Mr. Pearce. I asked Mr. Banks if anything could be done for you particularly, and he said he made no pledges. [Cries of "good," and laughter.]

Mr. Millward. You told me that Mr. Banks said I should have the place you promised me, if I would vote for him. [Cries of "order," and much confusion.]

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts. I understand this matter better than anybody else. No man has had an assurance from me, of any kind whatever, in regard to the formation of the committees. If I am elected to the office for which gentlemen have voted for me this day and for days past, I will stand perfectly free to do that which is right and proper for myself, for the House, and the country; and of that I alone am the judge, and for what I do I will be responsible to the House and the country. [Applause, and cries of "Call the roll!"]

Mr. Galloway, of Ohio. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has no right to make vague and general charges against members of this House. If such pledges as he has spoken of have been sought, I demand that those implicated shall be pointed out. It is the duty of the gentleman to do so.

Mr. Edie, of Pennsylvania. I desire to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if, in what he has said about assurances having been made to members of the delegation from that State, he had any reference to me?

Mr. Millward. Not at all.

Several members. To whom, then, had you reference?

Mr. Millward. I do not name any gentleman, but refer to a conversation with Mr. Covode, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Campbell, of Kentucky.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania. Then the gentleman has implicated the honor of the Pennsylvania delegation upon common rumor. I trust my colleague will be more guarded hereafter, and not suffer himself to be used for the purpose of casting imputations upon his colleagues. We stand here as independent Representatives of Pennsylvania, guided by our convictions of right and truth, and ask no pledges, nor will we give any. We desire to do our duty, and in doing that duty shall discharge it as intelligently as we can, trusting to the honor of those with whom we act.

Mr. Millward. I wish to say to my colleague, and to every gentleman on this floor, that I am not to be frightened by being told to be more guarded in future. I throw no imputation upon any of my colleagues, except he who has been guilty of this offence, and that is John J. Pearce. I throw no imputation upon any other member.

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania, desired to say, in behalf of the gentleman from Massachusetts, whom he had been supporting through a number of votes, that he had frequently met him socially since the commencement of the session, and had had many conversations with him; and, while he admired him for his high and chivalric sense of right and honor, he desired to say that he had never heard him at any time, or under any circumstances, make one remark which could be construed into a pledge. He had said to his colleagues and other members, that the interests of Pennsylvania were safe in the hands of any honorable member of the House, [cries of "that's right,"] and that no man having a high sense of right could so organize the committees as to strike down the interests of his State. He was willing to place the interests of the Keystone State in the hands of the gentleman from Massachusetts, because he was a gentleman of a high sense of right. His colleague [Mr. Covode] was not here to speak for himself, and he regretted that this subject had been referred to in his absence. He knew him to be a good and a true man, and he hoped his colleague [Mr. Millward] would not refer to him until he should be here to defend himself.

Mr. Millward had understood that Mr. Covode was present, and in so doing had labored under a misapprehension of his colleague's remarks.

Mr. Payne, of North Carolina, thought that the House should be very much obliged to the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Millward] for having exposed the effort which had been made to secure his vote for the gentleman from Massachusetts. He himself had heard the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Pearce] say that he had the assurance from Mr. Banks, that in the event of his election the interests of Pennsylvania should be properly taken care of; and this he could prove.

Mr. Pearce desired to explain. When, by a complication of circumstances, he found it necessary to change his vote from Mr. Fuller, whom he esteemed as highly as any gentleman here, to Mr. Banks, he had a consultation with his colleagues, and urged that the gentleman from Massachusetts was said to be a free-trade man. His (Mr. P.'s) colleagues then assured him that Mr. Banks was a man of such sterling character and of such a high sense of honor that he would not organize the committees of the House in such a manner as to prostrate the interests of Pennsylvania. He had received his impressions from his colleagues, and had received such assurances as to make him believe that in voting for Mr. Banks he would not run the hazard of having the interests of Pennsylvania prostrated.

The seventieth ballot was then had, and resulted as follows:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	- -	103
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	- -	67
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	- -	31
Scattering	- - - - -	9
		210

A majority having been given for no one candidate, there was therefore no election.

Mr. A. K. Marshall, of Kentucky, followed.

Mr. Colfax, of Indiana, thought that the time of the House could be more profitably spent than in the questioning and cross-questioning which had been carried on this morning; and though the gentleman from Kentucky had indulged in some dark and vague insinuations in regard to the candidate for whom he (Mr. C.) had been casting his vote, yet on this, as on other occasions, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Banks] had shown that, like true gold, the more he was rubbed, the brighter he shone. These attacks upon that gentleman's character would fall pointless at his feet, because he was encased in that panoply of rectitude before which arrows ever fell harmless.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, hoped that if there were any charges that could be made against the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, they would be made now. In his opinion, nothing had been said or done here, which in the slightest degree impeached the honor of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. A. K. Marshall did not choose to make a case now, nor would he hereafter, unless he should be able to establish facts which he intended to bring forward. He could only say, that if gentlemen would stand squarely up to what they had told him, he would be able to prove, to the satisfaction of every member, all that he had intimated.

Mr. Kunkel, of Pennsylvania, replied to the allegation that Mr. Banks had given assurances to some of his colleagues, and stated that a few days ago he and others of the delegation of his State were told by a gentleman who was not voting for the honorable member from Massachusetts, that that member stood pledged to certain interests in the State of New York, against those of Pennsylvania, and that he was pledged to constitute the Committee of Ways and Means with special reference to those interests. They thereupon went to Mr. Banks, and asked him if any such pledge or assurance had been given by him, and were told by him that he stood perfectly free and untrammelled upon that question. We (said Mr. K.) ask no pledges; we have none, except that which results from the effect of our standing up and voting for him.

A motion to adjourn was disagreed to—yeas 67, nays 90.

The seventy-first ballot was then had, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	- -	103
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	67
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	31
Scattering	- - - - -	10
		211

No candidate having received a majority of the whole number of votes given, there was no election.

Mr. Reade, of North Carolina, moved that the House adjourn.

The motion was negatived—yeas 92, nays 116.

A seventy-second ballot was then had, and resulted:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	- -	103
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	67
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	31
Scattering	- - - - -	10
		211

There having been no election—

On motion of Mr. Winslow, of North Carolina, the House adjourned—yeas 110, nays 95.

Friday, December 28, 1855.

SENATE.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

HOUSE.

The Clerk called the House to order at 12 o'clock, and the Journal of yesterday was read.

Mr. Seward, of Georgia, submitted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas it is apparent, under the existing differences of opinion in this House, no organization thereof can be effected without some effort to unite all who agree upon the doctrine of non-intervention, as asserted in the Kansas and Nebraska act, viz: that the people of the Territories shall be left perfectly free to regulate their own domestic policy; and whereas it is indispensable, to effect an organization, that all differences of opinion upon other questions should be postponed, without compromise or concession upon the part of any member voting for this resolution: be it

Resolved, That William A. Richardson be chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives for the thirty-fourth Congress.

Mr. Seward stated that he had introduced his resolution for the purpose of embodying, if possible, the sentiments of members in regard to the doctrine of non-intervention, and with the view of relieving gentlemen of the American party from what they considered an insult with respect to their peculiar position upon collateral issues outside of the doctrines of the Kansas and Nebraska bill.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, desired to know, if, when the gentleman stated that he was for the principle that the people in the Territories should settle their own institutions in their own way, he was to understand him as assuming the position that the people of a Territory, during the existence of a Territorial Government, might, through a Territorial Legislature, prohibit Slavery?

Mr. Seward replied, that legal questions were not proper to be considered here. [Laughter.]

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, hoped the gentleman from Georgia would so modify his resolution as to insert, after the words "domestic policy," "subject to the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Seward accepted the modification.

Mr. Clingman understood that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. H. Marshall] would have voted for the Nebraska bill, had he been a member of the House at the time of its consideration. He would ask the gentleman how he construed it? Did he believe that the people of a Territory had this right, or not?

Mr. H. Marshall replied, that he had no indisposition to state his position upon that question, so that it might be read of all men; and, when stated, it would read the same way North, and the same way South. He did not believe that the Congress of the United States possessed the constitutional power to legislate so as to prohibit Slavery in a Territory; and he did not believe that the people of a Territory possessed the power to legislate, pending a Territorial Government, so as to prohibit Slavery therein. Now, he should like to know the gentleman's position.

Mr. Clingman would state it with pleasure. If he had understood the gentleman correctly, he held that the people of a Territory could not legislate either affirmatively or negatively under the Kansas bill.

Mr. H. Marshall. Why, gentlemen have not settled the construction of that bill among themselves.

Mr. Seward here interposed, and claimed the floor, and proposed to modify his resolution, by striking out the words "that the people of the Territories shall be left perfectly free to regulate their own domestic policy." He had thus modified his resolution, for the purpose of obviating the difficulties which gentlemen seemed to desire to throw in its way, in regard to the construction of the Kansas and Nebraska act.

Now, if the American party were national upon this subject, they were opposed to agitation, and were in favor of removing it from the halls of legislation. His resolution presented a common platform, upon which all could stand; and he had offered it on his own responsibility, and without consultation with the Democratic party.

Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, approved of the resolution, though he thought that it might have been more judiciously worded.

He belonged to the Calhoun wing of the Democratic party, and did not consider himself as bound by the action of its caucus, or in any way subject to its rules. He would further add, that in recommending the course he should, he was not actuated by any indifference to Mr. Richardson. If he had had his choice of the members of the House, that gentleman would have been his first choice for the honorable position of Speaker.

There were three parties here, neither one of which had a majority of the whole number of votes. Mr. Banks, according to his understanding, represented the extreme Anti-Slavery feeling of the North, and he inferred that the party which sustained him did so because he occupied that position. Mr. Richardson stood upon the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and Mr. Fuller had declared that he would stand by existing legislation, and that he was against the further agitation of the Slavery question. Practically, so far as the organization of the House was concerned, the two last named candidates occupied the same position, and between their position and that occupied by Mr. Banks there was an impassable gulf. If those who voted for Mr. Fuller were unwilling to sustain Mr. Banks, which he believed to be the case, and if it was assumed that those gentlemen who threw scattering votes differed from the gentleman from Massachusetts, as it was fair to presume, it followed that Mr. Banks could not be elected, a majority of the House differing from him upon the vital question of Slavery. The next conclusion was, that the conservative men of the House—by which he meant those who supported Mr. Fuller and Mr. Richardson, as well as those who threw scattering votes—could organize, if they would cast their votes for the same candidate; and if they had this power, was it not their duty to exercise it? It seemed to him that the two parties which supported Mr. Richardson and Mr. Fuller should, without any formal understanding, withdraw their candidates, and cast their votes for whom they pleased. He, for one, would vote for any man, Northern or Southern, and without reference to the questions of Americanism and Catholicism, who would be willing to organize the House upon a conservative basis.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, remarked that the resolution now before the House presumed an indentity of feeling upon a given principle, on the part of those who should vote for it; and it was in the idea of its mover to make an assertion in favor of the principle of non-intervention, as declared in the Kansas and Nebraska act. Before he should vote for the resolution, he desired Democratic gentlemen to define the principle alluded to, and not attempt to hide it under the bill, which bill was interpreted by that party at the North in one way, and by the same party at the South in another.

The gentleman from Georgia had proposed that they should postpone the differences which existed upon other subjects. He would suggest to the gentleman, that when he indicated such a desire, he ought to have inserted in the resolution the name of Mr. Fuller, instead of that of Mr. Richardson, because, upon the subjects which he desired to defer, there could be no doubt that there was a majority here feeling as Mr. Fuller felt, and not as Mr. Richardson felt. The gentleman should have consulted the latent feelings here in regard to Americanism, by tendering the chair to the gentleman whose conceded sentiments were consistent with the known sentiments of a majority of the House.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, did not propose to discuss the question whether the power to legislate with reference to Slavery in the Territories existed in Congress or in the people of the Territories. He, however, had no doubt that the legislation which had occurred in Kansas, under the bill of the last Congress, was valid, and that under that bill the people of that Territory had the right to protect slave property. He had no doubt that the people of Kansas might decline to pass laws protecting slave property. There was no provision in the Constitution which required that they should enact such laws. He was understood to incline to the opinion, that, under the Kansas and Nebraska act, the people of those Territories might prohibit Slavery. He had voted for the bill, not caring whether the courts should decide the one way or the other. If the people of the Territories were against Slavery, why, of course, they would not have it.

Mr. Seward thought it was obvious that they could not harmonize on his resolution, and he therefore withdrew it.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, renewed it. He had supposed that if any opinion was more universal than another, it was that a Territorial Government, in a state of infancy, had no power to allow or prohibit Slavery. The Federal Government, having no right to admit or prohibit Slavery, had no right to delegate such a power. The people under the Kansas and Nebraska act had the right to protect all property, but had no power to create a fundamental law by which Slavery was to be admitted or excluded. He quoted from the act to sustain his position.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, was one of those who believed that all power was in the people; that all power not delegated to the Federal Government, was still in the people and the States. If, then, the people and the States had delegated to the Government the power to legislate upon the domestic affairs of the Territories, the Government, by the Kansas and Nebraska bill, had delegated, as far as it could, that power to the people of the Territories. If, however, the people and the States had never delegated that power to the Government, then it rested in the people and in the States. In his opinion, the Kansas and Nebraska act recognised the full force and power, in all its vigor, of the right of the people of the Territories to legislate over this subject, prior to their organization as a State Government, as fully and as completely as was recognised the power of the people of the States over the subject of all domestic questions not delegated to the Government. Gentlemen might call it what they please—"non-intervention," "squatter sovereignty," or "popular sovereignty;" it was a power of the people, which they had never delegated to the Government; and, in his opinion, they, and they alone, should exercise it, as well while in a Territorial condition as in a State Government.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, withdrew his resolution.

Mr. Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the resolution, by which the time to be occupied in debate was limited, be rescinded.

Mr. C. supported his resolution in a few remarks, when,

On motion of Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, it was laid on the table.

There being loud demands for the call of the roll, the House proceeded to the seventy-third vote for Speaker, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	101
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	68
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	30
Scattering	- - - - -	8
Whole number of votes given	-	207
Necessary to a choice	- -	104

No election having been effected, a seventy-fourth vote was had, and resulted:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	100
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	68
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	31
Scattering	- - - - -	8
		207

There having been no choice, a seventy-fifth ballot ensued, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	101
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	68
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	31
Scattering	- - - - -	8
		208

No choice having yet been effected, a seventy-sixth ballot was had, and resulted as follows:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	101
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	68
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	31
Scattering	- - - - -	8
		208

There having been no election, at a quarter past three o'clock, the House adjourned.

It was then announced that there would be a meeting of the friends of Mr. Richardson in the hall of the House, at eight o'clock in the evening.

Saturday, December 29, 1855.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

HOUSE.

The Clerk called the House to order at 12 o'clock, and the Journal of yesterday was read.

The House, resuming the business of voting for a Speaker, proceeded to the seventy-seventh ballot, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	101
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	- -	68
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	- -	32
Scattering	- - - -	8
Whole number of votes given	-	209
Necessary to a choice	- -	105

Five more ballotings were had, with similar results.

Amid loud cries of "call the roll," the House proceeded to the eighty-third ballot, with the following result:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	99
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	67
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	29
Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey	-	6
Scattering	- - - - -	4
		205

There having been no election—

Mr. Eustis, of Louisiana, moved that the House adjourn; which motion was negatived.

The eighty-fourth ballot was then had, and resulted as follows:

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts	-	98
Mr. Richardson, of Illinois	-	66
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania	-	29
Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey	-	6
Scattering	- - - - -	4
		203

No election having yet been effected—

Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, moved that the House adjourn, as they could not possibly effect an election to-day. He would, however, give notice to gentlemen, that on Monday evening next, unless his mind should change, [laughter,] he would be willing to continue in session until an election should be had.

The motion to adjourn was disagreed to—yeas 67, nays 108.

Mr. Wheeler, of New York, moved that when the House adjourn to-day, it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next.

Mr. Seward, of Georgia, desired to know, as the House was getting disorderly, if it was in order to move that the Hon. James L. Orr take the chair, and preside over the House.

The Clerk ruled that the motion was out of order pending the motion of Mr. Wheeler.

And the question being taken on the motion of Mr. Wheeler, it was decided in the negative.

Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky, moved that the House adjourn; which motion was disagreed to—yeas 79, nays 126.

And then, at 6 o'clock, on motion of Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, the House adjourned—yeas 102, nays 92.

THE TRIBUNE AND ENGLAND.—The New York *Tribune* seems to hate England and the English people with a singular ferocity. It neglects no opportunity to traduce them, and excite vulgar prejudice against them. This is unworthy such a journal, and it should be ashamed of such conduct. In a recent issue, it speaks of the English as a set of noodles who never *think*. The French and German *think*, says the *Tribune*. It strikes us that they think to little purpose. England stands immeasurably in advance of them, in liberty and morality, and in genuine civilization.

Hartford (Ct.) Republican.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ORATION AT PLYMOUTH,

DECEMBER 21, 1855.

BY WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Society and government are mutually related and inseparable. The material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual conditions of every people, determine, through either a direct exercise of their will or their passive consent, the nature and form of their government. Reasoning from the attributes of the Creator and from the constitution of man, we justly conclude that a high stage of social happiness is attainable, and that beneficent government is therefore ultimately possible. Any different theory makes the hopes which sustain virtue delusive, and the Deity, who inspires them, a demon equally to be feared and hated. Experience, however, teaches us that the advances of mankind towards such happiness and government are very slow. Poetry, indeed, often presents to us pleasing scenes of national felicity; but these are purely imaginary, while history is an almost unrelieved narrative of political crimes and public dangers and calamities.

We discover, by induction, moral laws as inflexible as the material laws of the universe. We know, therefore, that the tardiness of political progress results from a failure thus far to discover or apply those moral laws. The failure, at first view, excites surprise. Social melioration is apparently an object of general and intense desire. Certainly, the arts which subserve material safety, subsistence, and comfort, have been eminently improved. We construct useful engines recently conceived; we search the whole surface of the round earth with comparative ease; we know the appointed courses and seasons of worlds which we can scarcely see. It is doubtful whether the arts of architecture, painting, sculpture, and poetry, are susceptible of higher perfection. Why, then, does political science remain obscure, and the art of government uncertain and perplexed?

It happens, in some degree, because material wants have hitherto exacted excessive care; in some degree, because the advantages which result from political improvements are indirect and diffusive; but chiefly because the science is in its nature recondite, and the art intrinsically difficult.

Metaphysics is a science confessedly abstruse, and generally regarded as irksome and fruitless. Lord Bacon so pronounces, and he explains: "For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forward, indeed, cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit." How could the study of groups be either easier or more satisfactory than that of individual man? The same philosopher confesses that "government is a part of knowledge secret and retired."

Consider only one State. Its magnitude is immense, its outlines are indistinct, it is without symmetry of parts—its principles and dispositions are a confused aggregate of the imperfectly understood principles and dispositions of many thousands or even many millions of diverse men. The causes which have chiefly given form and direction to these principles and dispositions are either unknown or forgotten; those which are now modifying them are too subtle for our examination. The future of States involves further conditions, which lie outside of the range of human foresight, and therefore are called accidents. Human life is short, while the process of induction in political science reaches through generations, and even ages. Philosophers seldom enjoy facilities for that process. Hence, they "make imaginary laws for imaginary Commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light, because they are so high." Statesmen, on the contrary, "write, according to the States where they live, what is received law, and not what ought to be law."

A constitutional alteration is often necessary, to secure a desirable social improvement; but such an alteration cannot be made without a previous change of public opinion in the State, and even of opinion in surrounding States; for nations are social persons, and members of an universal Commonwealth. Habit resists such changes. Timidity, though looking forward, is short-sighted; and with far-sighted veneration, which always looks backward, opposes such changes. Laws, however erroneous, or however arbitrarily established, acquire a supposed sanctity from the ceremony of their enactment, and derive great strength from protracted acquiescence. In a despotic State, no subject can move changes. In a free one, each member may oppose, and opponents more easily combine than advocates. Ambition is the ruling passion of States. It is blind to defects and dangers, while hurrying on in careers of aggression and aggrandizement. The personal interests and ambitions of many effective members of the State cling to its institutions, however erroneous or injurious, and protect them against innovation. Reform can only appeal to reason and conscience. Conservatism arouses prejudice, cupidity, and fear, and adroitly excites suspicion and hatred against the person of the reformer. Retaliation too naturally follows; and so the controversy, which properly ought to be a public and dispassionate one, changes imperceptibly into a heated conflict of factions. Humanity and benevolence are developed only with increasing knowledge and refinement. Hence, castes and classes long remain; and these, although all equally interested in a proposed melioration, are, by an artful direction of their mutual antipathies, made to defeat it by their implacable contentions. Material interests are immediately roused and combined in opposition, because they suffer from the least disturbance. The benefits of a social change are more distant, and therefore distrusted and undervalued. The law of progress certainly does not require changes of institutions to be made at the cost of public calamities, or even of great private inconveniences. But that law is, nevertheless, inexorable. A necessary reformation will have its way, peacefully if favored, violently if resisted. In this sense, the Founder of Christianity confessed that he had come upon the earth to bring, not peace, but a sword. Revolutions are not divinely appointed attendants of progress, nor is liberty necessarily born of social convulsion, and baptized with blood. Revolutions, on the contrary, are the natural penalties for unwise persistence in error, and servile acquiescence in injustice and oppression. Such revolutions, moreover, are of doubtful success. Most men engage readily enough in civil wars, and for a flash are hot and active; but they cool from natural unsteadiness of temper, and abandon their objects; and many, destitute alike of principle, honor, and true courage, betray themselves, their associates, and even their cause, however just or sacred. Happily, however, martial revolutions do not always fail. In some cases, the tempers and dispositions of the nation undergo a propitious change; it becomes generous, brave, and self-denying, and freedom consequently gains substantial and enduring triumphs. It is hard, in such cases, to separate the share of fortune from that of merit, in analyzing the characters of heroes. Nor is it absolutely necessary. The martial heroism of such revolutions is wisely honored, even with exaggeration, because such honors stimulate a virtuous and healthful emulation. Mankind seek out the noblest among the successful champions, and, investing him with imaginary excellence in addition to his real merit, set him apart as an object of universal veneration to the world's end. We recognise such impersonations in Tell and Alfred, in Wallace and Washington.

These successful martial revolutions, however, only consummate changes which were long before projected and prepared, by bold, thoughtful, earnest, and persevering reformers. There is justly due, therefore, to these reformers, at least some of the homage which redeemed nations award to their benefactors. We shall increase that tribute, if we reflect that the sagacity which detects the roots and causes from which national calamities and thraldoms spring, and proceeds calmly to remove them, and to avert the need of an ultimate sanguinary remedy, or else prepare that remedy so that it shall be effectual, combines the merits of genius, of prudence, and humanity, with those of patriotism. Our admiration of these reformers will rise still higher, when we remember that they always are eminently good men, denied the confidence and sympathies of the country which they are endeavoring to save. They are necessarily good men, because only such can love freedom heartily.

"All others love not freedom, but license, which never hath more scope or indulgence than under tyrants. Hence it is that tyrants are not often offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, these they fear in earnest, as by right their masters. Against these lie all their hatred and suspicion. Consequently, neither do bad men hate tyrants, but have been always readiest, with their falsified names of loyalty and obedience, to color over their base compliances."

The devotion of these, the real authors of all beneficent revolutions to the melioration of human society, is therefore the most perfect and impressive form of magnanimity.

I know very well that this estimate is not generally allowed; nor is the injustice of the case peculiar. It occurs in all other departments of activity. We justly honor the name of Watt, who applied the ascertained mechanical power of steam to the service of the useful arts of social life—and the memory of Fulton, who converted the steam engine into a marine power, and sent it abroad on all lakes, rivers, and oceans, an agent of commerce, knowledge, civilization, and freedom. Yet we seldom recall the previous and indispensable studies of the Marquis of Worcester, who modestly announced his invention of the steam engine itself in those words, as full of piety and benevolence as of joy:

"Thanks to God, next in those which are due for creation and redemption, for having vouchsafed an insight into so great a secret of nature, beneficial to all mankind, as this water-commanding engine."

We cheerfully accord renown to Morse, who produced the electric telegraph; but we are prone to forget that Franklin discovered the germ of that great invention, by boldly questioning the awe-inspiring lightnings in their native skies.

There is abundant excuse for the popular neglect of peaceful, social reformers. Either they are engaged in apparently idle and visionary speculations, or else occupied in what seems even more absurd, an obstinate contention with the prevailing political philosophy of their age. Those speculations assume the consistency of science—that contention, the dignity of knowledge—only when in some later age the principles they announced have been established. In the mean time, they pass for malcontents and fanatics. The rude taste of society generally delights in themes and characters which are sounding, marvellous, and magnificent; and prefers the march, the camp, the siege, the surprise, the sortie, the charge, the battle, with its quickly vibrating fortunes—the victory, the agonies of the night which follows it, and the pomp and revelry of the day which banishes the complaining memories of that fearful night, to the humanitarian's placid studies, or the bewildering debates of polemic politics.

Excusable, however, as the injustice is which I have described, it is nevertheless unwise and injurious. It discourages necessary, noble, and generous efforts, and is chief among the bulwarks of superstition and despotism. The energies of men can never remain stationary. A nation that will not tolerate the activity of intellectual energy in the pursuit of political truth, must expect the study of that truth to cease. A nation that has ceased to produce original and inventive minds, restless in advancing the landmarks of knowledge, virtue, and freedom, from that moment has begun to recede towards ignorance, crime, and slavery. Every stage backwards renders its return more hopeless.

I am sure that this great error will not last always, and yet I do not think it is near its end. How long it shall endure, is known only to Him who, although he commands us to sow and to plant with undoubting faith, that we shall reap and gather the fruits of our culture, reserves to himself, nevertheless, not only the appointment, but even the knowledge of the forth-coming seasons.

It is because I am unwilling to forego a proper occasion for disavowing that error, that I am here to celebrate, over the graves of the Forefathers, on this day devoted to their memories, the virtues, the labors, and the sufferings, of the Puritans of New England and Old England. My interest in the celebration is not, like your own, a derived, but only a reflected one. I am not native here, nor was I born to the manner of this high and holy observance. The dogmatical expositions of the Christian scheme by the Puritans have not altogether commanded my acceptance. I shall, therefore, refrain from even an approach to those finer parts of my great theme, justly familiar to your accustomed orators, which reach the profoundest depths of reverence and love in the bosoms of the lineal descendants of the founders of New England. Not many years after the death of Napoleon, I stood before the majestic column in the Place Vendome, that lifts his statue high above the Capital of France. When I asked who scattered there a thousand wreaths of flowers, freshly gathered, that covered its base, the answer came quickly back, "All the world." So I, one only of the same vast constituency, cheerfully cast my garland upon the tomb of the Pilgrims, and lend my voice to aid your noble purpose of erecting here a worthier and more deserved monument to their memories. It is, indeed, quite unnecessary to their fame; yet it is, alas, only too necessary to correct the basis of the world's judgment of heroic worth. Make its foundations broad as the domain which the adventurers of the May Flower, peacefully, and without injustice, rescued from the tramp of savage tribes! Let its material be of the imperishable substance of these everlasting hills! Let its devices and inscriptions be colossal, as becomes the emblems and tributes which commemorate a world's ever upheaving deliverance from civil and religious despotism! Let its shaft rise so high, that it shall cast its alternate shadows, changing with the progress of the sun in his journey, across the Atlantic and over the intervening mountains to the Pacific coast! It must even then borrow majesty from the rock which was the first foothold of the Pilgrims on these desolate shores, instead of imparting to it sublimity.

But I may not touch the domestic story of your ancestors. Only a Jewish hand could strike the cymbals with the boldness due to the theme of the march of the host of Israel, under the guidance of its changeful pillar of cloud and of fire, while pursued by the chariots and horsemen of Egypt, through the divinely divided floods of the Arabian Sea; or, without temerity almost sacrilegious, lift from the waving boughs the harps which the daughters of Jerusalem hung upon the willows, while by the side of the rivers of Assyria they sat down, and wept the piteous captivity of their nation, beloved, but temporarily forsaken of God.

It is a sure way of promoting knowledge and virtue, as well as of rising to greatness and goodness, to study with due care and reverence the operation of sublime principles of conduct in advancing the progress of mankind. I desire so to contemplate the working of the leading principle of the Puritans.

I confess that the Puritans neither disclosed nor discovered any new truths of morals or of government. None such have been discovered, at least since the Divine Teacher set forth the whole system of private and public ethics among the olive groves, on that one which was his favorite among the mountains that look down upon Jerusalem.

Nor was it their mission to institute a new progress of mankind. Although the Eastern nations, the first to enjoy the light of civilization, had, long before the age of the Puritans, sunk into that deep sleep from which there is as yet no awaking, yet Europe was even then full of energy, enterprise, and hope. The better elements of the Oriental and Mediterranean civilizations had survived, and, co-operating with the pure influences of Christianity, were enlightening and refining the southern and western nations. The Western Church, which until recently was unpartitioned, had long defended the faith against the Saracens, and protected feeble States against the aggressions of ambitious princes. It still held the nations in the bonds of a common fraternity. Nor had it forgotten to proselyte, after the primitive manner, by inculcating morality and charity. It had, by its potent command, addressed to the conscience of Christendom, abolished throughout Europe that system of personal servitude in which a large, perhaps the largest, portion of every community had been hitherto held, under every form of government. It bore its testimony steadily against that system everywhere, declaring that "God and Nature equally cry out against human slavery; that serfs and slaves are a part of the human family which Christ died to redeem; and that equality is an essential incident of that brotherhood which he enjoins as a test by which his disciples shall be known."

The foundations of that comprehensive international code, which is now everywhere accepted, were broadly laid. It was then clearly taught that "there are in nature certain fountains of justice, from which all pure civil laws flow, varying only in this—that as waters take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws differ according to the regions and governments where they are planted." Luther had already summoned Europe to a new and more vigorous morality, and Calvin's sharp voice was ringing through the continent, calling the faithful away from all ostentatious worship, to that pure and spiritual one which God prefers "before all temples." The feudal policy, although founded in very imperfect conceptions of civil society, had saved, through the recent decline, many personal and political rights and privileges which otherwise would have been swept away, as they were in Asia, by the desolating hand of absolute power. Chivalry, a wild vine engrafted upon Christianity, was bearing abundant fruits of courage, constancy, gallantry, munificence, honor, and clemency. The machinery of mercenary armies was not yet perfected, and the security of government was still held to depend, not on laws and force, but on the approval and sympathies of the people. Commerce had discovered that the oceans were designed, not to separate, but to unite nations, and was extending its field over all habitable climes, and taking on the dignity of its new functions as an auxiliary of empire. Manufactures had been incorporated as a distinct wheel in the complex enginery of national wealth; and the productive classes had already attained a position among the ruling elements of States. A wise policy of liberal naturalization was breaking up local septs and clans, and distributing the seeds of material and social improvement throughout both hemispheres. Indolence, expense, and faction, had prepared that decline of aristocratic orders which still continues. Just notions of the free tenure of lands, and even that great idea of the universal freedom of labor, which now is agitating the world, prevailed quite widely. Italy,

"The dark'ned ages' last remaining light,"

had never failed to present examples of Republican institutions. The monarchical constitutions of that period contained sharply-defined limitations, and they were vigorously guarded and defended. It was a general theory, that the subject could not be taxed without consent of the legislature, and that princes could only govern in conformity to laws. England especially had a parliament, the type of modern legislatures, trial by jury, magna charta, and the common law, constituting one four-fold and majestic arch for the support of civil liberty. She had, moreover, emancipated herself from the supremacy of the See of Rome, and the popular mind was intently engaged equally in the pursuit of theological truth, and in the application of the organic laws to the maintenance and defence of public and private rights.

It was the age of Spenser, Shakspeare, Bacon, and Milton. Poetry had risen from lyric beauty to epic dignity; history, from fabulous chronicle to philosophical argument; and learning, from words and forms, to things and laws. Reasoning from these circumstances, it seemed that the onward progress of society was assured, and that civil and religious liberty were about to be established on broad and enduring foundations.

Nevertheless, a reaction had already begun, whose force is even yet unspent. The See of Rome took alarm at the movement of the Reformation, and combined with kings against nations. Henry VIII arrogated to himself the very same spiritual supremacy, which, with the aid of the people, and in the name of Christian liberty, he had wrested from the Pope; and with singular caprice employed it in compelling conformity to the obnoxious faith and worship of Rome, conducted by ecclesiastics who derived their appointments from himself, and held them at his own pleasure. The reign of Mary inaugurated that relapse to Rome, which the caprices of Henry had rendered inevitable. Elizabeth re-installed the Reformation, but reserved the regal claim to spiritual supremacy. The people resisted all these ecclesiastical usurpations of the Tudors, and they, in retaliation, boldly attempted to subvert the constitutional authority of Parliament. Elizabeth, under the advice of sagacious statesmen, and supported by temporizing churchmen, resorted to the favorite expedient of politicians—compromise. Compromise is a feasible and often a necessary mode of adjusting conflicting material interests, but can never justly or wisely be extended to the subversion of the natural rights or the moral duties of subjects or citizens. Even where a compromise is proper in itself, it derives all its strength from the fair and full consent of all the parties whom it binds. Elizabeth caused the Roman Catholic creed, discipline, and ritual, to be revised and altogether recast, under the direction of leaders of some of the conflicting sects; and thus a new system was produced, which, as was claimed, stood midway between the uncompromising Church of Rome and equally uncompromising latitudinarian Protestantism. The new system was established by law, and a hierarchy was appointed by the crown, to whose care it was committed. Absolute and even active conformity was commanded, to be enforced by pains and penalties in special and unconstitutional tribunals acting without appeal and in derogation of the common law. The new system, whatever might be its religious and ecclesiastical harmony with the Divine precepts, was, in its civil aspects, a mere political institution. It was offensive and odious to a zealous people, who, though divided into opposing sects, agreed in regarding the political authority assumed by the State as a sacrilegious usurpation. The friends of civil liberty also condemned it, as a turning of the batteries that had been won from the Roman See, in the name of Liberty, against the very fortress of Liberty itself. Nevertheless, a portion of the clergy, who had now become dependent on the State, members of the privileged classes, always disinclined to political agitation, placemen and waiters for places, the timid, the venal, and the frivolous, early gave in their adhesion, and the compromise daily gained wider acquiescence, through the appliances of political seduction, proscription, and persecution. The Church of England was built on that compromise. Incorporated into the constitution with such auxiliary political powers, it must necessarily augment the influence of the throne, and be subversive equally of the civil and religious liberties of the people.

A conservative power, a new conservative power, was necessary to prevent that fatal consummation. That power appeared in the form of a body of obscure religious sectaries, men of monastical devoutness, yet retaining the habits of domestic and social life; simple, but not unlearned; unambitious; neither rich enough to forget their God, nor yet poor enough to debase their souls; content with mechanical and agricultural occupations in villages and rural districts, yet conscious of the liberty with which Christ had made them free, and therefore bold enough to confront ecclesiastical and even royal authority in the capital. Serious as became their religious profession, they grew under persecution to be grave, formal, and austere. Chosen emissaries of God, as they believed, they willingly became outcasts among men. Divinely constituted depositaries of pure and abounding truth, as they thought, they announced, as their own rule of conduct, that no article of faith, no exercise of ecclesiastical authority, no rule of discipline, and not even a shred of ceremonial or sacrament, should be accepted, unless sanctioned by direct warrant from the Scriptures as interpreted by themselves, in the free exercise of their own consciences, illuminated by the Holy Spirit. God, although a benevolent Father, was yet, as they believed, jealous towards disobedience of His revealed will, and would punish conscious neglect of its commandments. These were the Puritans. They came into the world to save it from despotism; and the world comprehended them not. They refused to acquiesce in the compromise, because it involved a surrender of natural rights, and a dereliction from duty toward God. Nevertheless, they were true Christians, and therefore they declined to set up their own convictions as a standard for others who subscribed to the Christian faith, and freely allowed to all their fellow subjects the same broad religious liberty which they claimed for themselves. They persisted in non-conformity. The more hardly pressed, the more firmly they persisted. The more firm their persistence, the more severe and unrelenting was the persecution they endured. More than an hundred years virtually outlawed as citizens and subjects, and outcasts from the established church, the Puritans bore unflinchingly their unwavering testimony against the compromise, before magistrates and councils, in the pillory, under stripes, in marches, in camps, in prison, in flight, in exile, among licentious soldiery and dissolute companions in neighboring lands; on the broad and then unexplored ocean, when the mariners lost their reckoning, and the ship's supplies became scanty and her seams opened to the waves; on unknown coasts, homeless, houseless, famishing, and dying in the leafless forest, surrounded by ice and snow, fearful of savage beasts and confronting savage men. The compromise policy failed. Civil and religious liberty was not overborne; it rose erect; it triumphed; it is still gaining new and wider and more enduring triumphs; and tyrants have read anew the lesson, so often wasted upon them before, that where mankind stand upon their convictions of moral right and duty, in disobedience to civil authority, there is no middle course of dealing with them, between the persecution that exterminates, and the toleration that satisfies. The Puritans were not exterminated, they were not satisfied.

The Puritans thus persisted and prevailed because they had adopted one true, singular, and sublime principle of civil conduct, namely: that the subject in every State has a natural right to religious liberty of conscience. They knew too well the weakness of human guaranties of civil liberty, and the frailty of civil barriers against tyranny. They therefore did not affect to derive the right of toleration from the common law, or the statutes of the realm, or magna charta, or even from that imaginary contract between the sovereign and the subject, which some publicists had about that time invented as a basis for civil rights. They resorted directly to a law broader, older, and more stable, than all these—a law universal in its application and in its obligation, established by the Creator and Judge of all men, and therefore paramount to all human constitutions. Algernon Sidney, Locke, and Bacon, and even Hooker, chosen and ablest champion of the Church of England, demonstrated the existence of this law, deriving the evidences of it, and of its universal nature and application, from natural and revealed religion, in the high debates of the seventeenth century. Blackstone, Vattel, and Montesquieu, have built upon it their respective systems of municipal law, public law, and government; and our own Congress of 1776 sunk into the same enduring foundation the corner-stone of this vast and towering structure of American freedom. The Puritans could therefore lay no claim to the discovery of this great principle, or to the promulgation of it. But the distinguished glory of having first reduced it from speculation to actual and effective application, as a conventional rule of political conduct, is all their own.

This great principle was not only a disturbing, but it was also an offensive and annoying one. It was an appeal from the highest sovereign power in the State, to a sovereign power still higher, and therefore was thought disloyal and seditious. It of course encountered then the same ingenious sophistry which, although often overthrown, has not even yet been silenced. It was argued, that if individual conscience may rightly refuse to acquiesce in the results of the general conviction collected by the State and established as law, it may also rightfully resist the law by force, which would produce disorder and lead to anarchy. It was argued, also, that insomuch as civil government is of divine appointment, it must be competent to act as an arbiter between conflicting consciences, and that implicit obedience to its decrees, as such arbiter, is therefore a religious duty. As might well have been foreseen, there arose, on the side of the Puritans, contestants worthy of the majestic principle they defended, contestants whose voices, then silenced by persecution or drowned by public clamor, have reached this more congenial age, and are now giving form and condensation to the whole science of political ethics. Not again recalling the names of Locke and Sidney, there was Edwards, profoundest metaphysician of all ages, and Milton, always discontented and distrusted among men, but familiar with angels, and learned in the counsels of Heaven. It was their sufficient reply, that unenlightened and unsanctified consciences will never disturb despotism with their remonstrances, and that consciences illuminated and purified cannot be perverted to error; that God has delegated to no human tribunal authority to interfere between Himself and the monitor which He has implanted in the bosom of every moral being, and which is responsible to its Author alone; and that the boundaries of human authority are the boundaries of eternal justice, ascertained by the teachings of that monitor which, where it is free and fully awakened, must always be the same. They answered farther, and with decisive energy, that traditions and compacts subversive of freedom were altogether void, because the masses of men living at one time in a State must always have supreme control over their own conduct, in all that concerns their duty to God and their own happiness.

Fortunately, the Puritans had keen sagacity. They would not ask liberty of conscience as a political concession; because, if granted as such, it might be revoked. Fortunately, they were not purposely a political or civil body, but a purely religious one; a church in the wilderness, as they described themselves; a church without secular combinations, interests, or ends; a church with no interest but duty, no end but to avoid the divine disfavor, and no head but God. Fortunately, also, the age was as yet a religious one. Skepticism, which has since so wildly overrun large portions of Europe, and scattered its poisonous seeds even here, had not then entered the world; and the plenary nature and authority of the revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures, to which the Puritans appealed, was universally acknowledged. It was especially felicitous that the lives of the Puritans vindicated their sincerity, magnanimity and piety. Equally in domestic and social life, and in the great transactions of the State in which they became concerned, their conduct was without fear and without reproach. With all these advantages, the Puritans, as naturally as wisely, referred themselves to the Divine Revelation for the principle which they promulgated. With effective simplicity, they confined themselves to the main point in debate. They neither pretended to define nor to make summaries of all the natural rights of man which tyranny might invade, nor to trace out the ultimate secular consequences of the great principle on which they insisted. They rested the defence of the one natural right, which was distinctly invaded, on no grounds of expediency or of public utility, but on the grounds alone that God had given it, and that man could not either invade or surrender it, without sin against the Divine Majesty. It was the peculiarity of the right thus invaded and defended, that lent to the Puritans their crowning advantage. Religion is the profoundest and most universal affection of our nature. Apparently the cause of innumerable differences and endless controversies, it is, nevertheless, the one common and principal element which controls the actions of all men. It sustained the Puritans. It gradually won for them the respect and sympathies of men and of nations. The right assailed brought equally conscience and the love of liberty, the two most elastic and enduring springs of activity, into resistance. Its invasion was sacrilegious, because it assumed to add to the Divine commandments, and to take away from disobedience to them the curses that are written against it in the Book of Life. Primitive apostolical eloquence, which reminds us of the inspired apology of Paul before Agrippa, revived in its defence. The Puritans spake from their prisons after this manner:

"Upon a careful examination of the Holy Scriptures, we find the English hierarchy to be different from Christ's institution, and to be derived from Antichrist, being the same the Pope left in this land, to which we dare not subject ourselves. We farther find that God has commanded all that believe the gospel to walk in that holy path and order which he has appointed in his church. Wherefore, in the reverend fear of his name, we have joined ourselves together, and subjected our souls and bodies to those laws and ordinances, and have chosen to ourselves such a ministry of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons, as Christ has given to his church on earth to the world's end, hoping for the promised assistance of his grace in our attendance upon him, notwithstanding any prohibition of men, or what by men can be done unto us. We are ready to prove our church order to be warranted by the word of God, allowable by her Majesty's laws, and no ways prejudicial to the sovereign power, and to disprove the public hierarchy, worship, and government, by such evidence as our adversaries shall not be able to withstand, protesting, if we fail herein, not only willingly to sustain such deserved punishment as shall be inflicted upon us, but to become conformable for the future, if we overthrow not our adversaries. * * * We therefore, in the name of God and of our sovereign the Queen, pray that we may have the benefit of the laws and of the public charters of the land, namely, that we may be received to bail, till we be by order of law convicted of some crime deserving of bonds. We plight our faith unto God, and our allegiance to her Majesty, that we will not commit anything unworthy of the gospel of Christ, or to the disturbance of the common peace and good order of the land, and that we will be forthcoming at such reasonable warning as your lordships shall command. Oh, let us not perish before trial and judgment, especially imploring and crying out to you for the same. However, we take the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and his angels, together with your own consciences, and all persons in all ages, to whom this our supplication may come, to witness that we have here truly advertised your honors of our case and maze, and have in all humility offered to come to Christian trial."

How sublimely, and yet with touching effect, does this opening of their cause by the Puritans illustrate the Divine instruction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom?

Let us consider now the scope and full import of the Puritan principle. That scope is not narrowed by any failure of the Puritans themselves to comprehend it, or even by any neglect on their part to cover it fully in their own political conduct. Christianity is the same, however narrowed or perverted by erroneous creeds or practices among the faithful. Nor is the real merit of the Puritans diminished, because they did not fully comprehend all possible applications of the principle they maintained. Human progress is only the following of an endless chain, suspended from the throne of God. The links of that chain are infinite in number. The human hand can grasp only one of them at once.

The Puritan principle of the inviolability of the right of conscience, necessarily covers the inviolability of all the acknowledged natural rights of man, as well those which concern his duty to himself and his duty to others, as those which arise out of his direct duties towards God. Certainly the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, the beneficent Father and Preserver of all life, the universal Lawgiver and Judge of all moral beings, is not in any human sense a jealous and exacting God, incensed by the withholding of homage due to himself, and yet regardless of the neglect of other human duties which he has prescribed. Assuredly, when he commands us not only to walk humbly before Himself, but also to perfect our own nature, and to do justice, and love mercy towards other men, he has given us the same absolute right to the free exercise of our faculties, in performing these latter duties, that he has given us for the performance of the first. Nor is there any homage to God so acceptable as the upright heart and pure. He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?

The Puritan principle further involves the political equality of all men. Absolute rights arise out of the moral constitution of man. There is only one moral constitution of all men. The absolute rights of all men are therefore the same. Political equality is nothing else than the full enjoyment, by every member of the State, of the absolute rights which belong equally to all men. Any abridgment of that equality, on whatever consideration, except by discriminating justice in the punishment of crimes, is therefore forbidden to human government by the Divine authority. The Puritans so understood their own great principle, in its bearing upon the right of conscience.

"Liberty of conscience (said one of their earliest organs) is the natural right of every man. * * * * * He that will look back on past times, and examine into the true causes of the subversion and devastation of states and countries, will find it owing to the tyranny of princes and the persecution of priests. The ministers of the Established Church say, 'if we tolerate one sect, we must tolerate all.' This is true. They have as good a right to their consciences as to their clothes or estates. No opinions or sentiments of religion are cognizable by the magistrates, any further than they are inconsistent with the peace of civil government."

But this latitude of the principle of tolerance has been always vigorously and efficiently opposed by prejudice, pride, and bigotry, in every church, in every sect, in every State, and under every form of government. Each sect has claimed liberty of conscience for itself as a natural right, but with gross inconsistency, which invalidated its own argument, has denied that liberty to other sects—as if the Supreme Ruler had made men to agree, instead of differing, upon non-essential as well as upon essential articles of religious faith. The principle has nevertheless continually gained, and is still gaining, fresh triumphs. After a long contest in England, toleration was granted to all but Roman Catholics and Jews. One hundred and fifty years after the organization of the Puritans, the principle entered into all the American constitutions. Fifty years later, it emancipated the Roman Catholics throughout Great Britain. Only a year ago, it removed the disfranchisement of the Jews in the British dominions. It has thus irrevocably become a part of the constitution of that great empire.

The Puritan principle draws closely after it the consequence of an absolute separation of Church and State, for the reason that the toleration of conscience can in no other way be practically and completely established. That separation has been made in the American constitutions, with abundant advantage to both the cause of religion and the cause of good government. Great Britain is advancing steadily towards the adoption of the same broad, just, and beneficent policy. The separation of Church and State may therefore be regarded as a contribution made by the Puritans towards perfecting the art of government.

The political equality of men has also met with obstinate resistance, and has also achieved many and auspicious triumphs. After one hundred and fifty years of controversy, it was carried into the British constitution by the judicial decision in Sommerset's case, that a slave could not breathe the air of England. Ten or fifteen years later, it was theoretically adopted and promulgated in the Declaration of American Independence. The suppression of the African slave trade, by convention among the States of Christendom, transferred the same principle to the law of nations. The abolition of slavery by all the European nations, and, with few exceptions, also by all of the American States, is indicative of the universal adoption of the same great principle by all Christian nations, at some period not far distant.

You are now prepared, I trust, for another and still more comprehensive view of the Puritan principle, namely: that its full and perfect development is the pure system of republican government. Such was its marked tendency in the beginning. "A generous disdain of one man's will," says a truly philosophical writer, "is to Republics what chastity is to woman—a conservative principle, not to be argued upon or subjected to calculations of utility." Puritanism was a protest against the will of one man, whether that man was Pope or King. What form of government, other than the pure Republic, can there be, where there is complete separation of Church and State, and where absolute political equality prevails? Abolish the connection of Church and State and all political distinctions between the members of the State, in any of the kingdoms or empires of Europe, and what would remain, or could exist there, but a pure Republic? If the argument is not yet conclusive, consider then that the Puritan principle tends to the pure Republic, by virtue of its conservative protection of the individual member of the State against its corporate oppression; by virtue, also, of its elevation of individual conscience—thus bringing down the importance of the aggregate mass, and raising the personal importance and dignity of the subject or citizen; by virtue of the importance it attaches to personal rights, exalting them above material interests—and so making those rights, and not property, the primary object of the care of government; and by virtue, still further, of the openness, directness, and frankness of conduct which it requires. Equal tolerance in religion, and equal enjoyment of the other absolute rights of man, are inconsistent with the secrecy and fraud which monarchy and aristocracy necessarily employ, and cannot endure private councils or cabals. The Puritan principle tends to the pure Republic still more obviously, because it seeks to abridge the powers of government, and substitute consent and free acquiescence as the bond of union between the members of the State, in the place of armed or military force. This operation of the principle is happily illustrated in our own Republic, which, although constituted by an ever-increasing number of distinct States, has nevertheless been held together eighty years, and is, I trust, to be held together forever, without, for that purpose, even the shadow of a standing army—an anomaly as pleasing as it is full of profitable instruction.

Let it be confessed that the Puritans, as a body, were slow to discern these consequences and tendencies. They disclaimed them long, and with unquestionable sincerity.

"Although (said they to Elizabeth) her Majesty be incensed against us, as if we would obey no laws, we take the Lord of Heaven and Earth to witness that we acknowledge, from the bottom of our hearts, her Majesty to be our lawful Queen, placed over us for our good; and we give God our most humble and hearty thanks for her happy government; and both in public and private we constantly pray for her prosperity. We renounce all foreign power, and acknowledge her Majesty's supremacy to be lawful and just. We detest all error and heresy. Yet we desire that her Majesty will not think us disobedient, seeing we suffer ourselves to be displaced rather than yield to some things required. Our bodies and goods, and all we have, are in her Majesty's hands; only our souls we reserve to our God, who is able to save and condemn us."

Long afterwards, and after the Puritans in America had practically enjoyed a pure republican government through some generations, the Colony of Massachusetts saluted Charles II, on his restoration, with this loyal address:

"To enjoy our liberty, and to walk according to the faith and order of the Gospel, was the cause of us transplanting ourselves, with our wives, our little ones, and our substance, choosing the pure Christian worship, with a good conscience, in this remote wilderness, rather than the pleasures of England with submission to the impositions of the hierarchy, to which we could not yield without an evil conscience. We are not seditious to the interests of Cæsar."

Nevertheless, the reluctance of the Puritans to admit the full tendencies of their principle, cannot justly excite surprise. We necessarily fear, and feel our way, when we are treading on unknown ground, or in the dark. "Let no one who begins an innovation," says Machiavelli, "expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention." The Puritans never aimed to be, and never consciously were, secular or political reformers. Their field of labor, as they bounded it, lay all within the Church of Christ. They sought not an earthly Republic, but only the Kingdom of Heaven. When, sometimes, the thought presented itself, that, by reason of their fidelity to their profession, a purer and better political state would arise out of the commotions through which they were passing, it seemed still to them a merely secondary object, subordinate to the one sole religious purpose for which they had combined. We all have learned how slowly the sentiment of independence, and the principle of republicanism, ripened in these colonies during the early stages of the revolutionary contest, and how these free institutions rose suddenly under the hands of a people who were even yet protesting an enduring loyalty to the Throne and Parliament of Great Britain. It was not so, however, with the master spirits, Adams, Otis, and Jefferson. Nor was it so, in the case of the Puritans, with Milton.

"No man, (said he,) who knows aught, can be so stupid to deny, that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were, by privilege, above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey. The power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people, to the common good of them all, in whom the power yet fundamentally remains, and cannot be taken from them without a violation of their natural birthright."

How, then, has it happened that civil consequences so vast have followed the merely religious action of the Puritans? The apparent mystery is easily explained. Civil Liberty is an object of universal and intense desire. The cause of the Puritans identified itself with the cause of Civil Liberty in England, and ultimately, though on their part unconsciously, became the leading element of that cause, both in Europe and America. Thus identified and eminent, the Puritan cause effected the establishment of a Republic which endured through a short but glorious period in England. Though the British nation soon relapsed, and monarchy was restored, yet the Puritan principle, nevertheless, modified the constitution, and gave to it the popular form which it now bears. A throne yet towers above that edifice, but it is no longer the throne of the Stuarts, or of the Tudors, or even of the Plantagenets. It is simply ornamental. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal still constitute distinct estates, and retain their ancient dignity. But their real political power and influence have passed away, and the Commons, no longer contesting inch by inch for their constitutional rights, are virtually the rulers of the British Empire. France oscillates so uneasily and tremulously between the republic and military despotism, that no one who is hopeful of progress doubts where the needle will settle at last. It has become a proverb, that Europe must soon be either Republican or Despotic. When the compromise system of limited monarchy shall have retired, and only the two systems of Republicanism and Despotism are left to confront each other on that continent, in an age of still increasing intellectual and moral energies, the triumph of the former, though uncertain in the points of time and manner and field of contest, will nevertheless be assured. The Puritan principle is shaping, already, future Republics on the islands and continents of the Pacific Ocean, and on the heretofore neglected coasts of Africa, while the American Continent is everywhere crowned with free institutions, due to its still more direct and potential influence. From Plymouth Rock to Labrador, to Magellan, and around, by bay, gulf, and headland, to Nootka Sound, the Republican system, more or less developed, and more or less firmly established, pervades this hemisphere. Such are the already ripening and ripened fruits of the vigorous plants of Puritanism, gathered equally and promiscuously from the parent stock in England, and from the exotic one so carefully transplanted on this rugged coast, and so sedulously watered, watched, cherished, and reared, by the Pilgrim Fathers.

Behold how the unfolding, justly and naturally, as I trust, of a theme primarily local, sectional, and even sectarian, has brought us to the solution of the great problem of the progress of mankind towards social happiness and beneficent government. That higher stage of social happiness, that purer form of republican government, to which we are tending, are but faintly shadowed forth in the disturbed, transition scenes through which we are passing, and even in the most perfect institutions which have yet been framed from the confused materials of dilapidated and decaying systems. Present defects and imperfections no more warrant conclusions against that better future which has been indicated, than the incompleteness of the development of Christian principles justifies a fear of the ultimate failure of Christianity itself.

It is a law of human progress, that no work or structure proceeding from human hands shall come forth complete and perfect. Improvement, at the cost of labor and of trial, and even suffering—endless improvement, at such cost, is the discipline of human nature.

What, then, shall be the rule of our own conduct? Shall we grasp and hold fast to existing constitutions, with all their defects and deficiencies, and save them from needed amendment, or shall we amend and complete them, and so prevent reactions, and the need of sanguinary revolutions? Shall we compromise the principles of justice, freedom, and humanity, by compliances with the counsels of interested cupidity or slavish fear, or shall we stand fast always in their defence? I know no better rule of conduct than that of the Puritans. Indeed, I know none other that is sure, or even safe. Nor can even that great rule be followed successfully without adopting their own noble temper and spirit. They were faithful, patient, and persevering. They forgot themselves, and their own immediate interests and ambitions, and labored and suffered, that after-coming generations, among which we belong, might be safer and freer and happier than themselves. It can never be too well understood that the generations of men, in moral and political culture, sow and plant for their successors. "Let it not be grievous to you," said Bradford, the meek but brave and constant leader, to the small and forlorn Pilgrim commonwealth, that he was landing on this rock in mid-winter—"Let it not be grievous to you that you have been made instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours, to the world's end." Such was the only worldly encouragement the truthful founder of the Plymouth colony could give to his guileless comrades. Happily, the Pilgrims needed no other.

It is a familiar law of nature, that whatever grows rapidly also declines speedily. Time and trial are necessary to secure the full vigor without which no enterprise can endure. It was only by long, perilous, and painful endurance and controversy, that the Puritans acquired the discipline which, without consciousness of their own, qualified them to be the leaders of the nations.

There can be neither great deeds nor great endurance without faith; and true, firm, enduring faith can only be found in generous and noble minds. The true reformer, therefore, must calculate on frequent and ever-recurring treacheries and desertions by allies, such as Milton graphically describes:

"Another sort there is, who, coming in the course of these affairs to have their share in great actions above the form of law or custom, at least to give their voice and approbation, begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of some noble deed; as if they were newly entered into a great sin, disputing precedents, forms, and circumstances, when the commonwealth nigh perishes for want of deeds in substance done with just and faithful expedition. To these I wish better instruction and virtue equal to their calling."

Nor will all these qualities suffice, without discretion and gentleness, as well as firmness of temper. The courageous reformer will shrink from no controversy, when the field is open, the battle is set, and the lists are fair. But, on the other hand, he will neither make nor seek occasions for activity; and he will be always unimpassioned. Truth is not aggressive; but, like the Christian religion, is first pure, then peaceable. Nor need the reformer fear that occasions for duty will be wanting. Error and injustice never fail to provoke contest; because, if unalarmed, they are overbearing and insolent; if alarmed, they are rash, passionate, and reckless.

The question occurs, Whence shall come the faith, the energy, the patient perseverance, and the moderation, which are so indispensable? I answer, that all these will be derived from just conceptions of the great objects of political action. It was so with the Puritans. Their fixed purpose to retain the right of conscience, fully comprehended by them, extinguished selfishness and ambition, and called into activity in their places the fear of God and the love of man. Let them explain themselves:

"Knowing, therefore, how horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, by doing that which our consciences (grounded upon the truths of God's Word and the example and doctrine of ancient fathers) do tell us were evil done, and to the great discrediting of the truth whereof we profess to be teachers, we have thought good to yield ourselves into the hands of men; to suffer whatsoever God hath appointed us to suffer, for the perfecting of the commandments of God and a clean conscience before the commandments of men. Not despising men, therefore, but trusting in God only, we seek to serve him with a clear conscience so long as we shall live here, assuring ourselves that the things that we shall suffer for so doing shall be a testimony to the world that great reward is laid up for us in Heaven, where we doubt not but to rest forever with those that have before our days suffered for the like."

Contrast these sentiments, so profoundly self-renouncing and reverential of God, with the blasphemous egotism of the French revolutionists of 1798, and contrast also the slowly formed and slowly maturing, but always multiplying and ripening fruits of the Puritan reformation, with the blasted and shriveled benefits of that other great modern convulsion, and you have an instructive and memorable lesson upon the elevation and purity of spirit which alone can advance human progress.

Increase of wealth and commerce, and the enlargement of empire, are not truly primary objects of the American patriot. These are, indeed, worthy of his efforts. But the first object is the preservation of the spirit of freedom, which is the soul of the Republic itself. Let that become languid, and the Republic itself must languish and decline. Let it become extinct, and the Republic must disastrously fall. Let it be preserved and invigorated, and the Republic will spread wider and wider, and its noble institutions will tower higher and higher. Let it fall, and so its example fail, and the nations will retrograde. Let it endure, and the world will yet be free, virtuous, and happy. Hitherto, nations have raised monuments to survive liberty and empire. And they have been successful. Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Italy, are full of those monuments. Let our ambition be the nobler one of establishing liberty and empire, which shall survive the most stupendous material structures which genius can devise, or art erect, with all the facilities of increasing knowledge and public wealth.

Here my reflections on a subject infinitely suggestive come to an end. They will not be altogether fruitless, if I have been at all successful in illustrating the truths that continual meliorations of society and government are not only possible, but certain; that human progress is slow, because it is only the unfolding of the divine providence concerning man; that the task of directing and aiding that progress is rendered the most difficult of all our labors, by reason of our imperfect knowledge of the motives and principles of human conduct, and of countless unforeseen obstacles to be encountered; that this progress, nevertheless, must and will go on, whether favored or resisted; that it will go on peacefully if wisely favored, and through violence if unwisely resisted; that neither stability, nor even safety, can be enjoyed by any State, otherwise than by rendering exact justice, which is nothing else than pure equality, to all its members; that the martial heroism, which, invoked after too long passiveness under oppression and misrule, sometimes achieves the deliverance of States, is worthy of all the honor it receives; but that the real authors of all benign revolutions are those who search out and seek to remove peacefully the roots of social and political evils, and so avert the necessity for sanguinary remedies; that the Puritans of England and America have given the highest and most beneficent illustration of that conservative heroism which the world has yet witnessed; that they have done this by the adoption of a single true and noble principle of conduct, and by patient and persevering fidelity to it; that they thus overcame a demoralizing political and social reaction, and gave a new and powerful impulse to human progress; that tyranny is deceitful, and mankind are credulous, and that therefore political compromises are more dangerous to liberty than open usurpation; that the Puritan principle, which was so sublime and so effective, was nothing else than the truth that men retain in every state all the natural rights which are essential to the performance of personal, social, and religious duties; that the principle includes the absolute equality of all men, and tends to a complete development in pure republican systems; that it has already modified the institutions of Europe, while it has brought into existence republican systems, more or less perfect, throughout the American continent, and is fixing and shaping such institutions wherever civilization is found; that hindrances, delays, and reactions of political progress, are nevertheless unavoidable, but that they also have corresponding benefits; that it is our duty to labor to advance that progress, chiefly by faith, constancy, and perseverance—virtues which can only be acquired by self-renunciation, and by yielding to the motives of the fear of God and the love of mankind.

Come forward then, ye Nations, States, and Races—rude, savage, oppressed and despised—enslaved, or mutually warring among yourselves, as ye are—upon whom the morning star of civilization hath either not yet dawned or hath only dimly broken amid clouds and storms, and receive the assurance that its shining shall yet be complete, and its light be poured down on all alike. Receive our pledges that we will wait and watch and strive for the fullness of that light, by the exercise of faith, with patience and perseverance. And ye reverend men, whose precious dust is beneath our unworthy feet, pilgrims and sojourners in this vale of tears no longer, but Kings and Princes now at the right hand of the throne of the God you served so faithfully when on the earth—gather yourselves, immortal and awful shades, around us, and witness, not the useless honors we pay to your memories, but our resolves of fidelity to truth, duty, and freedom, which arise out of the contemplation of the beneficent operation of your own great principle of conduct, and the ever-widening influence of your holy teachings and Godlike example.

THE VIEWS OF POLISH PATRIOTS.

Our Pro-Russian journals try to represent the Patriots of the Old World as indifferent, if not hostile, to the cause of the Allies. Facts do not justify this. We copy from a London paper the following account of a late meeting of the Polish Patriots in that city, (not reprinted on this side of the Atlantic,) which will show on which side their sympathies are thrown.—*Ed. Era.*

Anniversary of the Polish Insurrection.

Yesterday being the 25th anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830, the Polish exiles resident in London attended the funeral service at the Roman Catholic Chapel, Sutton-street, Soho-square, for the repose of their countrymen who fell in this and other national struggles; after which, they assembled in Sussex-chambers, Duke-street, St. James's where a meeting was held.

Colonel Chevalier Wiercinski occupied the chair, and, in opening the proceedings, warned his countrymen to be on their guard against the Polish *doctrinaires*, who maintain that the present is not the time for the Poles to take any part in the war against Russia. After 86 years of the most dreadful national calamities—four partitions, and the dungeons of the spoliators filled with Polish martyrs, and while in all parts of the world the bones of Poles bleach on every battle-field, and the Polish blood flows profusely everywhere, these cold calculators tell you now it is not yet time. Oh! my brethren, (continued he,) now, and now only, is the right time to show to Europe and to the world that Poland is not dead—that she is ready to perform her old task of watching over and shielding the liberties and the independence of the civilized part of Europe.

Captain C. Szulczewski proposed the first resolution, which was as follows:

"That the Polish exiles in this meeting assembled declare solemnly and conscientiously, on behalf not only of themselves, but also of their countrymen, whether dragged unwillingly to serve in the armies of the Czar or subject in their homes to the degrading oppression of his Government, that the resolution of the whole Polish nation again to constitute itself into an independent State, openly asserted in arms this day 25 years ago, so far from having been shaken or diminished by the unparalleled civil and religious persecution which the Polish people have suffered in the mean time, has become, on the other hand, even yet more deep, unwavering, and immutable. In proof of which solemn declaration, they appeal to the indisputable fact that Polish prisoners taken during the present war, to whatever class of life they may belong, seize with avidity the first opportunity offered them of entering the ranks of the Allies, and fighting against their former oppressors."

After observing that the vitality of the national spirit and the devotion of the Poles for their country have not suffered any diminution, he continued thus: Since the ultimate downfall of Poland in 1831—since the event that made us all exiles—we have never met to commemorate that event under such important circumstances for us as the present. There have been since then, it is true, various periods of great commotion in Europe, which have raised our hopes and made us put forth new energies; but at those periods the wisest among us were always fully aware that if we were to succeed, it would be in spite of Governments armed with an extent of national power which their sympathizing subjects did not possess, and that therefore our chances of success were so much the less, and were indeed dependent upon the overthrow of those Governments. Now, however, it is very different. Though not avowedly, and not even designedly, the mightiest Powers of Europe are now leagued together to do battle for Poland—for whoever fights against Russia fights for Poland; and, though timid politicians may shrink from acknowledging it, the restoration of Poland must be one of the consequences of the present war, or the war will prove to have been waged in vain. Now, therefore, it is not only the popular sympathies, but the Governments of Europe that are enlisted in our cause, and the Governments of Europe backed by the enormous strength bestowed by the full and hearty concurrence of their people; and the restoration of Poland has become one of the essential conditions for the restoration of peace in Europe. But, if this be so, fellow-countrymen and fellow-exiles, the part we have to perform and the duties we have to fulfil are also different; and it behooves us to take a serious view of our position, and to make up our minds to consider no sacrifice too great to secure, when the time comes, the open and willing aid and co-operation of those who are now, perhaps, only fighting our battle because they cannot help it. While addressing you on a recent melancholy occasion, when we had met to do honor to the memory of the truest and noblest friend that any oppressed nation could ever boast of—Lord Dudley Stuart—I took the liberty of alluding to the unmerited reputation for disunion which has ever clung to us as a nation, and to the diversity of opinions entertained in the emigration, as to what ought to be the form of government in Poland, should our beloved country ever be restored to independence. I would now fain dwell further upon the subject, and beg you to reflect, that if the hopes which have been so frequently frustrated should at length be realized as a consequence of the present war, our country will, in this case, have been restored through the aid of a European coalition; and that, as has been truly observed by our countryman, Count Valerian Krasinski, in one of the many works which have made his name illustrious in exile, we cannot, therefore, expect that the form of government to be introduced among us will be left entirely to our own decision. What we have to do now, in expectation of the propitious event, is, therefore, to train our minds to acquiesce readily in whatever necessities the conjunctures of the times may impose, and to sacrifice even cherished theories and predilections in the cause for which we have made so many other sacrifices. To do this will, I think, be the more easy, if we will but take an unbiassed survey of the world's history, and observe that no nation was ever founded and no State ever developed itself according to political theories. The principles of a nation's growth, the elements of its greatness, lie hidden in the innermost recesses of its being, as, also, in the nature of the country which it inhabits. To seek out, to recognise, and to nourish these, is the task of the patriot and the statesman; and we have all been so long absent from our country, so many forces of which we have hardly any knowledge have been in action there during our quarter of a century of exile, that, should we ever be restored to it, we would have much to learn before we could be in a position to judge what would be the best possible form of government for us. That, in the first instance, it would be sufficiently free to allow of its being gradually improved, we have a guaranty in the principles that govern the present war, and render it so popular throughout Europe; and with this assurance we ought to rest contented for the present; for to recommence our national life with dissensions on the subject of preconceived theories, whose adaptation to the circumstances of the country we had no means of testing, would indeed be to prove that the early discords that have made our intestine broils proverbial in Europe did not spring from our old absurd Constitution, but in reality had their root in the national character. On the other hand, by discarding all subjects which have hitherto proved apples of discord among us, by working together with one heart and one hand, and bringing all our energies to bear on the first great task before us—the reconquest of our country by faithful service in the armies that are now combating Russia—we shall, on our side, be giving the best guaranties for the future, we shall be acquiring the esteem of those Governments without whose aid we can hope to achieve but little, and we shall be gaining the confidence even of those who have chosen to number the Polish emigration among the rankest revolutionists and firebrands of Europe. In saying this, let me not be misunderstood as wishing to cast any blame upon those peoples who, having in vain exhausted all other means to secure their rights, trampled upon by foreign despots, have at length had recourse to arms to free themselves from the hated yoke.

To number ourselves among such, has ever been our greatest glory; but I do deeply deplore that, owing to the aberrations of a few members of the emigration, the name of the Poles should have become, in the minds of so great a number of persons, identified with the cause of those visionary politicians, of all nations, who would subvert all existing Governments, and overthrow all established institutions, in order to create a new world out of the chaos; and it is because I think that irreparable injury is done to our cause, by allowing such impressions to gain ground, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you upon the subject, and that I would implore all of you who think with me to seize every opportunity for proving that not only is the restoration of Poland an event necessary in the conservative interests of Europe, but that the Poles also deserve to be numbered among the conservative and progressive nations of Europe, inasmuch as they wish nothing more than to be put in possession of their country, and quietly to develop its resources and capabilities, according to the laws which nature and history may have pointed out as the most appropriate.

It is by acting in accordance with such principles that we shall be most effectually aiding the cause of political liberty throughout Europe, and helping to promote the liberation of the other nations who are sighing under a yoke similar to that which weighs upon Poland; for nothing has contributed more to rivet the chains of these nations, than the wild schemes with which their names have been associated. The eyes of the Western Governments of Europe have at length been opened to the fact that Russia is the great revolutionist of Europe; and, this truth being once recognised, it will not fail to work out its consequences, which must prove advantageous to all oppressed nations, and finally lead to the restoration of our beloved country to its former independence.

Colonel Przyiemski seconded the resolution.

Lieutenant Jackowski proposed, and Lieutenant Lusakowski seconded, the following resolution:

"That the Poles assembled on this national anniversary have some reason to hope that they will soon find themselves on their native land, under their own leaders and commanders, and they consider it their duty to express their gratitude to their illustrious chief, Prince Adam Czartoryski, who, through his unremitting labors, and amid insuperable difficulties, has succeeded in placing the cause of our country on so elevated a footing before the civilized world."

Mr. F. N. Zaba proposed, and Lieutenant Gleinich seconded, the third resolution, which was as follows;

"*That it is the duty of Polish exiles, in return for the secure asylum and generous hospitality which the English and French nations have afforded them, to render the allied Governments, in their righteous war against Russia, the efficient assistance which (in consequence of at least one-fourth of the Russian army being composed of Poles, Polish troops, officered by men of proved devotion to their country, can alone contribute; and therefore this meeting tenders its sincere thanks to the English Government for enabling the Poles to perform this service, by decreeing the formation of a distinct Polish corps, under the command of Zamoyski, a name illustrious in the annals of Poland.*"

Lieutenant Jlakowiez proposed, and Major Gielgud seconded, the following resolution:

"That this meeting offers its grateful acknowledgments to the Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane, the President, and to the Council of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, for their unceasing endeavors to keep before the eyes of the English public the real condition and just claims of the Polish nation, as well as to alleviate the sufferings of the Polish exiles in this country."

Mr. Golozewski, a young Polish gentleman, who has recently escaped from the clutches of the Czar, and come to England as a volunteer to the division of Cossacks of the Sultan, recited a poem, composed by himself, breathing most patriotic sentiments, and readiness of the young generation of the Poles to shed their blood for their much-oppressed country.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

TO THE FRIENDS OF AN ANTI-SLAVERY GOSPEL.

There has existed in this city, for nine years, a Christian Anti-Slavery Society, called the *American Missionary Association*, the object of which is to send to heathen nations, and the destitute in our own country, a preached Gospel, and religious publications that are free from all complicity with American Slavery.

This Society was called into being, chiefly because a large portion of Anti-Slavery church members felt that they had no channel through which they could consistently contribute their offerings for Foreign and Home missions. They had been accustomed to give mostly to the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, and the *American Home Missionary Society;* but seeing that these Societies sustained churches into which slaveholders were admitted and fellowshipped without discipline or rebuke because of slaveholding, and that, after repeated admonition and expostulation, they persisted in sustaining such churches, and defended the policy; these anti-slavery Christians deemed it their duty to establish and patronize a Society that would not be guilty of this unchristian practice.

The causes that led to the formation of the American Missionary Association still exist. It now employs nearly two hundred missionaries and teachers. They are located in Western Africa, Jamaica, Siam, Sandwich Islands, Egypt, in the Western States, in Kansas, in Canada, and in some of the slave States. The Africans taken in the Spanish schooner Amistad, after being declared free by the Supreme Court of the United States, were conducted to Africa, and placed under the charge of those who had the management of this Association. A portion of the emancipated in Jamaica, and of the fugitives in Canada, also have had the Gospel preached to them, and schools established, by our missionaries.

Notwithstanding the principles of the Association accord with those of the Christian abolitionists of this country, and its course has been such as they would approve, very many of them, it is believed, do not contribute to its treasury. This is presumed to arise from ignorance of its true principles and history, from misinformation, or from other causes. The object of this appeal is to invite attention to the principles of the Association, its doings, its success, its opportunities for enlarged operations, and *its need of immediate increased means.* There is, at the present time, an urgent necessity for an increase of funds, and for additional missionaries, teachers, and colporteurs. The men and women can be had, if sufficient funds are contributed for their support. But the income is insufficient adequately to sustain those already in the field. Help at this exigency is therefore greatly needed, to sustain the self-denying and excellent brethren already in the field, and to enable the committee to send forth other laborers into the vineyard of the Lord.

The office of the Association is at 48 Beekman street, New York. The president is Hon. Lawrence Brainard, of Vermont, late Senator in Congress. The Secretaries are Rev. George Whipple and S. S. Jocelyn. A monthly paper is published for gratuitous distribution, called the *American Missionary.* Christian abolitionists throughout the country are invited to take the paper, and aid in its circulation, to make themselves acquainted with the character and proceedings of the Association, and to contribute to the support and increase of the missions and schools. The paper will be sent gratuitously to every person who sends his name and post office address to the office. Donations for the cause are earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully acknowledged.

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Treasurer,*
New York City.

Ayer and King, implicated in the robbery of $50,000 from the American Express Company, were conveyed to Albany on the 27th, on the requisition of Gov. Clark.